THE WAR DIARY OF A LONDON SCOT
1796-7

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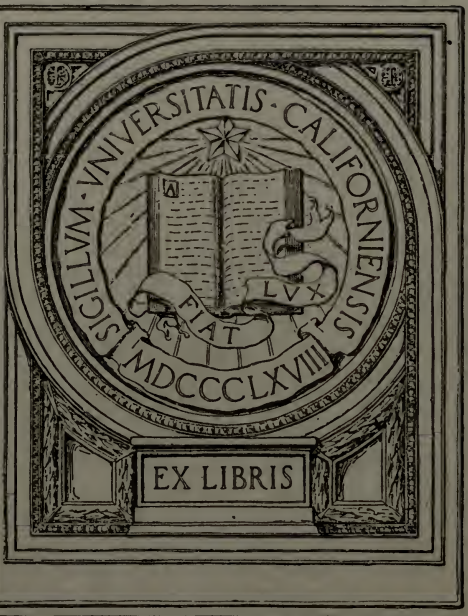

THE WAR DIARY OF A LONDON SCOT

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(ALDERMAN G. M. MACAULAY)

1796-7

WITH A

REVIEW OF THE YEAR

BY

W. C. MACKENZIE, F.S.A. (Scot.)

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BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE AND INTRODUCTION.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE AND INTRODUCTION.

The author of this diary, George Mackenzie MacAulay, was a native of the parish of Uig in the island of Lewis, Outer Hebrides, where he was born in the year 1750. He was a cousin of Lord MacAulay, whose ancestors, the MacAulays of Uig, can be traced back to the sixteenth century as the dominating (and turbulent) clan of that district. The name of the Rev. Aulay MacAulay, Vicar of Rothley, Leicestershire, and uncle of Lord MacAulay, appears in the diary.

Of the early life of George MacAulay, nothing is known, but his use of nautical phrases is suggestive. The lure of London tempted him, when still a boy, as it has since tempted many a youth from the distant Highlands, to take the plunge that leads sometimes to wealth or distinction, sometimes to poverty and obscurity, and, perhaps most frequently, to the neutral region of suburban smugness. MacAulay, as he tells us himself, came to London at the age of fifteen. In 1774—at the age of twenty-four—he was admitted to the Freedom and Livery of the Company of Bowyers, and in 1782 he

was elected Junior Warden of the Company. In 1786 he became an Alderman of the Ward of Coleman Street, and in the same year was elected Warden of the Bowyers Company. He was Sheriff in 1790, and on the occasion of his being sworn in to that office, the Bowyers Company joined his procession, and provided "2 French Horns, 2 clarinets, and 1 bassoon." He was Master of the Bowyers Company from July, 1788, to July, 1790. He died in 1803, and his widow (of whom nothing is known) survived him until 1848. His youngest daughter died as recently as 1882 or 1883.

Alderman MacAulay was in business as a merchant and insurer at 6 Leadenhall Street, E.C. His London residence in 1796-7 was at Number 2 Bridge Steeet, Blackfriars. He had a house at Bedford, where apparently his family lived at the time the diary was written.

The entries in the diary are a revelation of character, and by their means it is not difficult to form a mental picture of the man from the Hebrides. His career, as sketched above, was obviously that of an energetic City man who had lost no time in mounting the ladder of success, nor in entering the civic doorway that leads sometimes to the coveted Chair in the Mansion-House. We can see him as he reads his *Morning Chronicle* (which, like the frugal Scot that he was, he gave up when the duty was raised to sixpence), and drinks his "Padre Souchong"; and we can hear him as he fulminates at the breakfast-table to his patient wife on the

"duplicity" of Mr. Pitt, and the "infamous conduct of an unprincipled and flagitious administration." We can follow him to his office in Leadenhall Street, where he rules his clerks much in the same way as his Highland ancestors ruled their dependents—namely, as a benevolent despot; and where he conducts his business with method and despatch. We can observe him at Lloyd's Coffee-House, in the midst of a throng of excited underwriters, by whom the Alderman is regarded as an authority on all things on the sea, in the sea, and about the sea. From Lloyd's, we trace his footsteps to the Hall of the Bowyers Company, where he sits in the chair of the Master, a dignified but choleric Scot, against whom the accusation could never be made, that he suffered fools gladly. And after the business of the day is over, and he has dined *solus* at the York, we can accompany him to Drury Lane (for the Alderman prided himself upon his knowledge of the drama), and listen to his discriminating praise of Elizabeth Farren. Thence to John's Coffee-House, where he eats his oysters and enjoys a political argument with his sanguine friend, Mr. Nutt, a hardened Pittite, who was prone to look at the international situation through rose-tinted spectacles. And then home to Bridge Street and bed.

A shrewd man of business, a Young Whig in politics, a Deist in religion, a patron and critic of the drama, and what Dr. Johnson would have called a "clubbable man," such was Alderman MacAulay as we see him in his diary. Apparently his tongue

was of MacAulayan readiness and pugnacity; and if his literary style lacked the snap and the glitter of his illustrious cousin, he had a command of crudely forceful invective against his political opponents that was essentially akin to the torrential eloquence with which Lord MacAulay overwhelmed his victims. But the latter would have made short work of some of his cousin's ideas, especially those that came hot from the oven of Tom Paine.

The Alderman's opinions acquire whatever value they may possess, from the fact that they reflected the politics, not of the average "City" man of his day, but of what must have been a relatively small minority, yet a minority that embraced some of the most intelligent of London's merchants. The Alderman sympathized with the ideals underlying the French Revolution, and in his diary he gives expression to those sympathies in divers ways. Consequently, we are not surprised to find him in strong opposition to Burke, whom he regarded as "the most mischievous fellow that ever lived; an enemy to the country; and the most dangerous of all bad men; an apostate to all that is Honorable, Virtuous, and Just." Even Burke's death, which he records in his diary, failed to soften this harsh opinion. For this is what he writes:—

> "A few days ago, died at his Ho. at Beaconsfield, the celebrated Edmund Burke, a man of very superior Talents, and who for many years of his Life maintained a character of incorruptible

integrity, but his Junction with Lord North after the American War, his unrelenting malicious persecution of Mr. Hastings, and his acceptance of a pension from Mr. Pitt, whose public conduct he has for many years reprobated in terms of the most bitter severity, mark him in my opinion as a corrupt, unprincipled Imposter, and from being the great defender of the Rights of the people, and the zealous Supporter of the Liberties of Mankind, has proved himself destitute of every honorable motive, and as flagitious an advocate of the most profligate and wicked Administration that ever existed in this Country from the period of the Revolution. He was in his 68th year."

This sentence, fearsome in its length, and characteristic in its pomposity, must have been penned by the Alderman "not necessarily for publication" (he tells us that he wrote for his own pleasure only), but possibly with a strong hope that it would some day find its way into print. That hope has now been realised.

The violence of the Alderman's opposition to Pitt is not less intelligible than his detestation of Burke. "He (*i.e.*, Pitt) has an uncommon share of talents," he grudgingly admits; but in his opinion they were misdirected talents. He charges Pitt, moreover, with duplicity and other political vices. Fox he considered to be vain and ambitious. But there are two men for whom he professes the most whole-hearted admiration: Napoleon Bonaparte,

and Warren Hastings. He writes thus of Bonaparte at a time when his country was at war with France—

> "The Alexanders and the Cæsars of whom we have read, the Auringzebes and the great Zingis of the East, shrink into nothing when compared to the mighty achievements of this young warrior."

His admiration of Hastings is expressed in a letter which he wrote to the great administrator (a copy of which he kept), in which he tells him that his statue "ought to have been erected in gold in every part of the British Dominions in the East, instead of his being the subject of a vile, a base, an infamous, and most vindictive prosecution." And as a mark of his unbounded esteem, he sent Hastings a few pounds of his special "Padre Souchong."

The diary (extracts from which form the text of this book) covers a period of fifteen months only; from October, 1796, to December, 1797. Short though the period is, it embraces one of the most fateful years in British history. It was a "Black Year" for this country: when in her struggle with France everything seemed to go wrong on land; when Britons' hearts were chilled by the fear that their sure shield, burnished with victory, was about to be thrown to the ground by its bearers; when the tramp of a foreign foe was heard on British soil; and when the financial basis on which rested the country's means of resistance by herself and assistance for her Allies was violently shaken. Yet there is no evidence of panic in MacAulay's diary. On the

contrary, "business as usual" went on in the City; the playhouses were well attended; and the Coffee Houses were centres of amiable gossip about the war. It is true that by that time the war was three years old; and in three years a nation accepts with calmness many things that in normal times would arouse excitement. But above and beyond that fact, there still remained in Britain a strong leaven of sympathy with the ideals of the French Revolutionists. It is certain that had it not been for the September massacres, the execution of Louis XVI., and the excesses during the Reign of Terror, the war with France would not have been the popular war that it undoubtedly was on its outbreak.

When, in 1793, France declared war against Great Britain and Holland, the conditions were, in some respects, similar to those existing in August 1914, when this country was compelled to take up arms against Germany. In 1793, as in 1914, the responsible Minister of the British Government worked earnestly, unremittingly, but unsuccessfully, for peace. In 1793, the threatened invasion of Holland, as in 1914 the imminent invasion of Belgium, was the immediate cause of Britain's participation in the war; and in both years, the struggle was commenced with the most complete misconception in this country of its probable duration and intensity. The elder and the younger Pitt, by their support of Prussia, without which even the genius of Frederick the Great would have struggled in vain against French pressure, unwittingly created what

has proved to be a Frankenstein for the British Empire. Had the two Pitts suffered the Kingdom of Prussia to go to pieces—the elder, especially, was a staunch bulwark of the Prussian throne — the British Empire, of which Chatham was the father, would not perhaps be fighting for its life to-day against the domination of Prussian militarism. They cannot be blamed for a lack of prescience to which no human being could lay claim. The doctrine of the balance of power does not, and cannot, include in its scope the consideration of contingencies so remote as to merit exclusion from practical statesmanship. A "hand-to-mouth" policy is the sole device of the mere politician for guiding his country's destinies. A statesman should be a seer. But no clairvoyant statesmanship was capable, a hundred and twenty years ago, of seeing Prussia in 1914 as the centre and the mainspring of the most powerful, and the most highly organized machine that has ever been devised for the crushing of liberty.

The outbreak of the French Revolution found Pitt ill-prepared for the cataclysm that was to follow. His brain was full of schemes of reform. The constitution and the finances of the country required the labours of a Hercules for their reformation. And if the country possessed a political Hercules, the son of Chatham was the man, for his dominion over the House of Commons and the country was at one time absolute. But his schemes were shattered ere they were well launched, by the

upheaval across the Channel. With liberty as an abstract ideal, Pitt was in hearty sympathy. With liberty as expressed by the storming of the Bastille, he was not inclined to quarrel. And the country was with him. Indeed, at first, the French Revolutionists, with that strange lack of comprehension of the psychology of foreign peoples characteristic of all nations, believed that the British nation was panting for a new heaven and a new earth, and would gladly co-operate with France in securing, at least, the latter. Had it not been for the subsequent excesses in France, which sent a shiver of apprehension throughout the civilized world, it is hard to say how far British sympathy would have carried this country. But when the reaction set in, its course was rapid. The innate conservatism of the British people took alarm. Nothing was now safe in France, and nothing would be safe in Britain if the Channel were bridged by revolutionary sentiments. Pitt, detached by temperament, and scornful of demagogic arts though he was, succeeded at first in keeping his feet when caught by the strong stream of popular resentment against the French regicides. He shared, of course, the country's horror of the guillotine holocaust. But excesses in France did not justify English interference. Like the patriot that he was, Pitt kept one aim, and one only, steadfastly before him during the critical period that preceded the outbreak of war; and that was, the interest of his country. Unless that interest was directly jeopardized or threatened, Great Britain

would remain neutral throughout the contest between the French and their King-ridden neighbours. The moment that interest was touched, war between this country and France became unavoidable. Bitterly disappointed and chagrined by the attitude of the British people, the French impatiently prepared to strike a blow at their vital interests, and thus force them into the war. But the patience of Pitt was apparently illimitable. Even the conquest of Belgium, resulting from the French victory at Jemappes, found and left Great Britain still neutral. But when, in violation of several treaties, the Scheldt was opened, and Holland, which Great Britain was bound to defend, was threatened by the French, Pitt's efforts to keep out of the struggle were at once brought to nought. Even then, the declaration of war came from France, though it was hastened by Chauvelin, the French Ambassador, being ordered to leave Britain on news being received of the execution of Louis XVI. But the inevitability of war was such, that it was immaterial which side first took the decisive step.

Was the war thus forced upon this country supported by the people with unanimity? It was a popular war beyond doubt, but acquiescence in its unavoidability was by no means universal. We find in our diarist a mouthpiece of that section of the community which held that the war was avoidable:

"Would it not," he asks (in 1796), "have been more to Mr. Pitt's credit, and to the honour of the country, to have acknowledged the Republic,

and received an Ambassador from France in 1792, than to have lost the lives of more than 100,000 men, spent a hundred millions of money, and after four years of horrible warfare to restore the old Monarchy in which we certainly had no right to interfere."

In another place he writes :—

"This war might have been prevented by acknowledging the Republic and receiving an ambassador."

This point of view of a contemporary is arresting, but not convincing. Britain had certainly no right to interfere in the internal affairs of France. But she had no wish to interfere. Nor can it be assumed that she would have lifted a finger to fight for abstract ideals. For the maintenance of monarchic or aristocratic principles on the Continent, Pitt would not have sacrificed the bones of a Middlesex Grenadier. But in view of the crimes of the Terror, even his courage, high though it was, would have quailed before the popular storm (quite apart from the opposition of the King) that would have followed his recognition of the blood-bespattered Republic. And it is not easy to find fault with the popular attitude. A freedom-loving people, the British nation welcomed the breaking of political and social fetters, from whatever quarter the ringing sound of the hammers might come. But their imagination was haunted by the sound of the clanking of the chains, by which the howling mob of

Paris sought to bind their brother Frenchmen in fresh bonds of despotism, not less but more galling than the fetters of absolute monarchy. The ugly features of the Revolution were patent to all; its permanently beneficial effects the future alone could reveal.

Pitt is usually described as essentially a Peace Minister. And with certain qualifications, that is true. But for the interruption of his schemes of reform by the war, he might be known in British history as the Great Reformer, as his father is known as the Great Commoner. It cannot be said with truth that he was a great War Minister. He was driven into the war, and he was anxious to end it as soon as possible. So eagerly did he desire peace, that he deluded himself with the ill-founded hope that exhaustion would quickly compel the Republic to bring hostilities to a close. He made the fundamental error that was made in Britain at the commencement of the present war. He did not know that he was fighting, not merely a military caste, but a whole nation drunk with enthusiasm, and ready to endure any sacrifice for the ideals with which they had been indoctrinated. He expected that the war would be over within a year. It actually lasted, with short breathing intervals, no fewer than three and twenty years. Yet this miscalculation does not necessarily imply ineptitude in the administration, or lack of energy in the conduct, of the war. Lord Macaulay (like his cousin the Alderman) writes with contempt of Pitt as a War

Minister, and if judged by the miserable results achieved on land, his administration of the war was apparently feeble, and conceivably incapable. But, as Lord Rosebery justly remarks, unsupported and overweighted as Pitt was, he could not have succeeded as a War Minister when the war broke out. We had no General fit to put in the field, and the army was composed of the "scum of the earth," to use Wellington's phrase. The Hope of Britain was the Duke of York, whose sole claim to the chief command of the British Army was that he was the son of his Royal father. The truth is that Britain, sleek, prosperous, and contented, was not ready for war, and was content to wage it on land mainly by paying subsidies to Continental hirelings. Pitt was really as little responsible for the feebleness of Britain on land in the early stages of war, as he was for her irresistible might at sea. If he is held responsible for the one, he cannot be deprived of the glory of the other.

The war effectively shelved all schemes of internal reform. Indeed, for Pitt, it marked the parting of the ways. Lord Macaulay avers that it would have been well for Pitt's reputation had he died at this juncture. Alderman MacAulay goes further. "Mr. Pitt," he says (this was written in 1796), "has been called the Heaven-born Minister, but if he had died in his mother's womb, it would have been a much better thing." Borne along the current of popular passion, Pitt the Reformer was quickly transformed into Pitt the Reactionist. He was the

same Pitt, calm, courageous, and detached from, yet not contemptuous of, the feelings of the country. But he had to break or bend; and he bent. Momentarily, indeed, he seems to have been genuinely alarmed lest leniency should let loose an army of looting bandits on London. At anyrate, he took no risks. He suspended the Habeas Corpus Act; he passed a Treasonable Practices Bill, and a Seditious Meetings Bill; all with the wholehearted concurrence alike of Parliament and the majority of the people. The country was stricken by panic, and these measures were its reflection. The nation was afraid, not of the French, but of the pro-Revolutionists in their own midst. Sedition was scented in harmless Debating Society exaggerations; it was a crime to advocate republicanism; it was a virtue to be an ardent monarchist. In Scotland, where the repressive measures were initiated, obsolete and brutal statutes were furbished up in order to give an appearance of justice to what was, in reality, persecution. Watt, an ex-spy, was tried and executed for high treason; and here, apparently there was some ground for suspecting the fomenting of rebellion on a small scale. Muir, an advocate, and Palmer, an Anglican clergyman, for preaching parliamentary reform, were banished as felons to New South Wales. A like fate awaited Skirving, Margarot, and Joseph Gerald, the London delegates to the Edinburgh Convention, whose aims let loose repression and Braxfield. In England, after the ground was cleared in Parliament, Horne Tooke,

Threlfall, Holcroft, and Hardy, with other reformers, but not revolutionists, were put in the dock for high treason, and their acquittal was a word of warning to Pitt, to which he gave heed. But not for a generation was Reform able to show its face again, except in a timid and furtive fashion. Yet the "rebellion" feared by the alarmists had taken the form of mere commonplace bread riots.

Our diarist's views of these repressive measures is shown by his remarks when recording the death of Gerald and Skirving, both of whom died (in March, 1796) within three days of one another. He tells us that Muir was reported to have escaped to America, and that Palmer was thus the only member of the quartette left in New South Wales. These four men, he writes, were transported "for maintaining those doctrines precisely which Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Richmond subscribed and vigorously supported till they got into power in the year 1783."

Pitt was not the man to fear the charge of inconsistency. Indeed, in his day, political consistency was as rare as moral rectitude. A century afterwards, there was a tendency in Britain to make a fetish of political consistency; and there were men who bowed down before it and worshipped it. According to their political creed, a man who commences his career as a Tory must remain a Tory; a man who holds Radical views must never allow those views to become mellowed by Time: a man who advocates Free Trade must never accept the heresy of Tariff Reform; in short, a politician must

become a fossil. Not of such jejeune material were the political creeds of the late eighteenth century composed. What party labels, indeed, are we to place upon the three outstanding figures in British politics at that period? Was Pitt a Whig, or was he a Tory? Prior to the war with France, his Liberalism was far in advance of the petrified ideas of the average Whig in the House of Commons. Was Fox a Tory, a Whig, or a Radical? He was all three at different stages of his career, and at one time, was what some unthinking people would call at the present day, "a friend of every country but his own." And above all, what label are we to place upon Burke? By a paradox, he was nominally attached to the Whig party, yet no mind so essentially conservative in its tendency was to be found in the ranks of the Tories. He was a Radical in the sense that he went to the root of things; but the conclusions of his political philosophy were, that roots were things not to be torn up ruthlessly, but to be tended with meticulous care. No truer or sincerer patriot than Burke had a place in British politics. But he suffered from the defects of his absorption in politics. As Lord Morley points out, Burke's views on the French Revolution were fundamentally unsound, in so far as he failed to see that the upheaval was not so much a political, as a social, revolution. His veneration for political constitutions as the expressions of a nation's general development, received so severe a shock from the upheaval in France as to impair his critical judgment. But

the impassioned rhetoric in his *Reflections*, found an eager response in the minds of a public that made no attempt to plumb the depths of the philosophical reasoning, of which the rhetoric was merely the surface glitter. No wonder that Alderman MacAulay (who had all the qualifications for being a member of a Jacobin Club) called Burke a "mischievous fellow." Beyond doubt, Burke's views dominated the country at the very time that they bored the House of Commons. Indirectly, therefore, the policy of Pitt was fashioned by the *Reflections* of Burke. Burke moulded public opinion in a reactionary and anti-French shape, and Pitt was forced unwillingly into the mould. Probably he never felt comfortable there. At anyrate, he seized upon the first favourable opportunity to make his peace with France under its new constitution, named the "Directory."

The state of the war reinforced the desirability of an early peace. In the early stages of their fight against the allied nations, the French suffered a succession of reverses. But they quickly found their feet in a military sense, and their force, as a united people organized for war, proved irresistible. The Austrians were heavily defeated in successive battles; Prussia showed no inclination to continue the war; and, worst of all, from Britain's standpoint, Holland was conquered by Pichegru. The Duke of York returned to Britain, which he should never have left as a British Commander-in-Chief. The campaign had covered the British Army, not with glory, but

with something akin to contempt. These disasters had all occurred within two years of Britain's participation in the war. The only gleams of light were afforded by the conquests in the East and West Indies, and especially by the brilliant naval victory won by Lord Howe on 1st June, 1794.

In 1795, the successes of the Republic continued. Successively, Prussia, Sweden, and Spain came to terms with France; the ill-starred expedition of French aristocrats to Quiberon Bay, backed by British money and helped by a British Fleet, was annihilated by Hoche; and although the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon, like rich and ripe fruit, fell into Britain's lap, she lost ground in the West Indies (which, however, was recovered in the following year). The successes of the Archduke Charles in 1796 were more than counterbalanced by the brilliant victories of Bonaparte in Italy. Thus, in the autumn of 1796, the balance of advantages was clearly with the Republic, and peace overtures were bound to come from the other side. It was in these circumstances that Pitt entrusted Lord Malmesbury, a shrewd and experienced diplomatist, in October, 1796, with a mission to negotiate a peace with the Directory; and it is at this stage that Alderman MacAulay's diary opens.

One is struck by the shrewdness of the Alderman's views on these negotiations, and the accuracy of his forecast of the result. It is true that he was a diligent reader of the Paris papers, and his opinions were doubtless coloured by their reports. But a

hard-headed business man like MacAulay could hardly fail to see that failure must be the only outcome of so loose-ended a mission. Indeed, it cannot be supposed that Pitt seriously expected success, and it can only be surmised that his object was to gain time. The only basis of a peace acceptable to Britain was the evacuation of the Netherlands; and the evacuation of the Netherlands, as Pitt must have known, was precisely what France was not prepared even to consider. Why? We have the answer in the admirable summary by Thiers of the advantages obtained by France in possessing the Netherlands. Those advantages were represented by the most fertile and wealthy provinces of the Continent, and above all, manufacturing provinces; the command of the mouths of the Scheldt, the Meuse, and the Rhine; a considerable increase of coast and consequently of shipping; seaports of great importance, especially Antwerp; a prolongation of the French maritime frontier in a quarter the most dangerous to the British frontier, opposite the defenceless coasts of Essex, Norfolk, and Yorkshire; and lastly, in consequence of these conditions, the involuntary deflection of Holland within the French orbit, in which event, the French line would extend not only to Antwerp, but to the Texel, and the British shores would be encompassed by a girdle of hostile coast.

We have here the circumstances that have dictated the foreign policy of successive British Governments, ever since the safety of this island from attack by a

hostile Continental Power, sufficiently strong to invade Britain, came within the close purview of British statesmanship. Neither Belgium nor Holland must be in the permanent possession of a Power capable of harming Britain; that is the cardinal factor in the foreign policy of this nation. All other considerations must be subordinated to the safety of the country; and the doctrine of the balance of power is, and must be, grounded upon that fundamental basis. No one knew this better than Pitt; and it may be added that the reasonableness of the British claim was fully recognized by Europe, at the time when the integrity of Belgium was guaranteed by this country, jointly with France, and with Prussia, the country that in 1914 deliberately threw the Scrap of Paper into its waste-paper basket. The question of the Netherlands in 1796 was at bottom the same as in 1914. But there was this difference, that, in 1796, the security of Great Britain was Pitt's only consideration; whereas in 1914, the honour of Great Britain was superadded to the question of her safety. "Pitt," says Thiers, "was wholly English in pride, ambition, and prejudice. The greatest crime of the Revolution was, according to his notion, not so much the giving birth to a colossal Republic as the incorporation of the Netherlands with France." No greater tribute could be paid alike to the patriotism and the foresight of the great Englishman. Pitt had no objection to Belgium returning to the possession of Austria, precisely because no danger to Britain was

to be apprehended from an Austrian Netherlands, which, on the contrary, served as a buffer between France and the United Provinces. But that the Netherlands should be in the hands of the most powerful and aggressive military State in Europe, Pitt rightly recognized as a standing and unendurable menace to Britain, the removal of which must necessarily be preliminary to any Treaty of Peace. Yet the same reasons that made it imperative for Britain that Belgium should be restored to Austria, and maritime Flanders to Holland, induced France to cling tenaciously to her conquests. How was this difficulty to be overcome?

Alderman MacAulay believed that the difficulties of the situation were insuperable; and he was right. Lord Malmesbury fenced with some skill, but in the absence of some happy occurrence altering the French standpoint, he must have foreseen his failure. The Directory appointed, and armed with sufficient powers, Delacroix as its representative to meet Malmesbury. When the latter exhibited his papers, the first difficulty arose: they were signed by Britain alone, though Malmesbury professed to be acting for Britain and her Allies in negotiating a general peace. That was a bad commencement. But Malmesbury professed that once the negotiations were opened, and the principle upon which they were to be based was admitted, the concurrence of Britain's Allies was certain. The principle was declared to be that of compensation. When pressed to state in precise terms in what direction it was

proposed that the principle should operate, Malmesbury evaded the danger of showing his hand prematurely, by what Delacroix, not unjustly, must have regarded as a subterfuge; he had to refer to London, he said, for further instructions. And so the game of temporizing went on, Pitt hoping for a lucky turn of the wheel in Italy to favour his designs, and the Directory, while they humoured Malmesbury by admitting the principle of compensation, waiting for particulars of the British proposals only to reject them peremptorily.

All this time Pitt was haunted, with good reason, by the fear of Austria following the example of Prussia, by arranging a separate peace with France. The fidelity of the Germanic Allies to the common cause was kept alive mainly by Pitt's gold; and when counter-attractions tempted them (as did Poland in Prussia's case) to break away from the Alliance,* they were not hindered from doing so by nice questions of honour. It was not, however, until the following year that, by the Treaty of Campo Formio, Austria deserted Great Britain (in her darkest hour), and left her to face victorious France single-handed. During Malmesbury's negotiations in 1796, the loyalty of Austria to the Alliance, fortified by the secret subsidy of £1,200,000

* Alderman MacAulay writes of Frederick William II. of Prussia, who died in November, 1797: "Whether we consider his character as a man or a monarch, perhaps he has not left a greater Rascal on earth." And this of the head of the House of Hohenzollern!

(sent by Pitt on his own responsibility) remained unimpaired. Possibly Austria was grateful to Britain, with that species of gratitude that has been described as "a lively sense of favours to come." And there was still the chance that French reverses in Northern Italy might give relief alike to Austria and Britain. Indeed, had it not been for the genius of Bonaparte, France could scarcely have escaped from a disastrous outcome of the Italian campaign. But Pitt's confidence, and Austria's fidelity were alike shaken by the victory gained by Napoleon at Arcola over Alvintzy. "Bonaparte," says Thiers, "clasped his two arms about the enemy"; and in that clasp, not only did he crush Austria's military power, but he extinguished Britain's hopes of peace.

The Directory now tried to steal a march on Britain by sending General Clarke, an Irishman, to negotiate a separate peace with Austria at Vienna. But Austria was not yet ready to break away from her Ally, and Clarke's mission remained unaccomplished. The second object of his mission, to watch Napoleon, was also frustrated by the penetration of the latter, who exercised his powers of fascination over the impressionable Irishman, and soon made him a creature of his own. While these backdoor negotiations were in progress, Malmesbury was still hiding his hand. It was not until December that he disclosed Pitt's conditions of peace, for it was useless to temporize further. The note delivered by Malmesbury to Delacroix demanded complete restitution to the Continental Powers, by France, of her

conquests. She was to give up to Austria, Belgium and Luxembourg, and to the Empire, the German States on the right bank of the Rhine. She was to evacuate all Italy; she was to restore to Holland certain portions of territory, such as maritime Flanders, in order to render her independent; and she was to make certain changes in the existing Constitution. The compensations offered by Pitt were the restoration of the Dutch Colonies (excluding the Cape and others), but only on condition of the reinstatement of the Stadholder; and the return to France of her islands in the West Indies, with the exception of a part of St. Domingo.

These demands were regarded by the Directory as outrageous, and next day, Lord Malmesbury was ordered to leave France. As Alderman MacAulay put it, while the negotiations were in progress, the French had got "an anchor to windward of his Lordship," and the Alderman rightly believed that Malmesbury would soon "cut and run." His view that his Lordship "will have the opportunity of eating his Christmas dinner in London if he is so disposed," was verified by events. It is difficult to believe that Pitt expected for a moment that the Directory would accept his conditions, or indeed, that his terms could form a basis for discussion. But he was well aware that his position in the country would be strengthened, if he could show that his earnest strivings for peace had been brought to nought by the obstinacy of the bellicose Republic.

That the Directory had no intention of making

peace with Great Britain, is shown by the fact that four days before Malmesbury was ordered so unceremoniously to leave France, a French fleet with an army under Hoche, the victor of Quiberon, had actually set sail to invade Ireland. Why Ireland? The whole of the perennial Irish question is opened up by that question.

From the dawn of Irish history to the present day, unhappy Erin has never been at once peaceful and independent. When independent she was factious, and when peaceful she was enslaved. Even in the so-called Golden Age of Irish tradition, the days when Cuchulain fought Fardia at the Ford, the days when the Fianna set a pattern of chivalry and prowess to succeeding generations, the clash of arms is never absent, the din of battle is always heard. The nationality of the country was founded upon a mixture of races, comprising the dominant federation of peoples who called themselves the Goidels or Gaels (meaning the co-sharers), and the flotsam and jetsam of earlier and subject peoples, whose descendants anthropology is able still to discriminate from the descendants of their successors. At the commencement of authentic history, we find Ireland under the ruthless heel of Scandinavian sea-rovers; and it was a people of Scandinavian origin, the Normans, who in the twelfth century, like greedy cormorants, fixed their red talons in the quivering body of their unhappy victim and never relaxed their hold. Swarm after swarm of alien settlers from Great Britain found in Ireland throughout the

centuries, a country from which they sucked sustenance, and to which they offered nothing in return save injustice and oppression. The policy of Cromwell and of William of Orange in Ireland was symptomatic of the general attitude of Britain towards that unfortunate island. But in the eighteenth century, the conscience of Britain had begun to awake. British statesmen at length realized, by a coincidence which is not altogether surprising, that the national recognition of slavery in the British dominions, and the withholding of the elementary rights of citizenship from the Irish people, were equally incompatible with the ideals of liberty and justice that had begun to ferment in the minds of the British people, even before the French Revolution had stirred the ferment to unexampled intensity.

Pitt was far from being indifferent to these newborn emotions. He had a frigid manner, but a warm heart. His general attitude on the Slave Trade, and his great speech in 1792 advocating its abolition, showed that he was a genuine friend of liberty. Even his reactionary domestic policy in subsequent years cannot, in view of all the circumstances, vitiate that claim. As early as 1785, he gave practical expression to his sympathy with Ireland. He endeavoured to remove the monstrous injustice which shut that country out of all participation in the commercial advantages of Great Britain. Scotland had won her way over the hedge of monopoly, only after many pricks by the thorns

of national jealousy; and it was now Ireland's turn to find a way through the same hedge. But it was not yet to be. Pitt's measure, originally liberal, was rejected by a stupid and obstinate House of Commons; his remodelled resolutions displeased a disappointed Ireland. The attempt was abandoned, and with it, all serious efforts to reform an Irish Parliament, packed by alien nominees; or to give to the Irish people a full measure of religious liberty, unshackled from religious prejudice. The partial emancipation of the Irish Roman Catholics in 1792-3 by measures which, in the teeth of violent opposition, gave them the right to vote, but not the right to sit in Parliament, is a tribute to the continued sympathy of Pitt with Ireland, no less than a mark of far-seeing statesmanship. The coalition, in 1794, between the Portland Whigs and Pitt's ministry, led to the appointment of Fitzwilliam, an honest and well-intentioned man, to the Viceroyalty of Ireland; and it was the imprudence of Fitzwilliam, together with the obstinacy of George the Third, that baffled Pitt in carrying out his liberal policy, and set Ireland aflame with factious strife. The recall of Fitzwilliam, rendered necessary by his blunders, reduced the excitable Irish from the exaltation caused by impossible hopes, to the despair produced by the realization of their impossibility. The unfortunate appointment to the Lord-Lieutenancy of a sympathetic but rash Whig, whose unauthorized propaganda had raised visions in Ireland of a new heaven and a new earth, soon shown to be

unattainable, must be held largely responsible for the state of sullen revolt, following upon violent reaction, into which the Irish mind, in 1795, was ineptly forced. Catholic "Defenders" and Protestant "Peep-o-Day" boys, representing clear-cut religious divisions, equally bigoted, equally intolerant, were ranged in furious opposition; while the United Irishmen, representing political unity, and with the goal of complete independence before them, drew accessions impartially from the ranks of both. In 1796, the enrolment of the Yeomanry, a body of irresponsible freelances, increased the disorder; and the condition of the country seemed to be going from bad to worse. Meantime, French intriguers were at work in Ireland, stirring up the spirit of rebellion. Wolfe Tone, the founder of the United Irishmen, fleeing from Ireland to America, made his way thence to France, where, with Lord Edward Fitzgerald, Napper Tandy, and Arthur O'Connor, he concerted plans with General Hoche, acting under the Directory's authority, for an invasion of Ireland, and the establishment of an Irish Republic under the guarantee of France. Faced by the approaching storm, the true friends of Ireland, like Grattan, who desired deliverance equally from the corrupt oligarchy that misgoverned the country, and from the alien Parliament that claimed to be Ireland's Dictator, were in despair.

Hoche's expedition to Ireland in December, 1796, missed success by what some would call "sheer bad luck," and others, the interposition of Providence to

defeat its aim. That invasion was feared by Pitt cannot be doubted. Perhaps he was not deceived by the reports diligently spread by the French that the preparations at Brest were intended for an expedition against Portugal or America. That he divined, or guessed, the true destination of the fleet, is suggested by his precautions. He called out the militia; he armed the coasts; and he gave, where necessary, instructions how to act in case of invasion. Meantime, Hoche was burning to distinguish himself, and emulate the deeds of his companions-in-arms, by striking a blow which the Directory confidently expected would bring Britain to her knees.

The alliance which had been concluded between France and Spain, placed at the disposal of the Republic, a force worthy to strive with Great Britain for the mastery of the seas. By a successful concentration in the Channel, of the Toulon and Spanish squadrons, with the Atlantic fleet of France, a formidable weapon of destruction, capable, if employed with skill and some luck, of shattering Great Britain's might at one blow, could be forged. Pending, however, the junction of Villeneuve's ships from Toulon, with the Spanish squadron in the ports of Spain, and both with Richery's squadron from America, the risk to be run by a French army to be landed in Ireland, was serious. But it was a risk from which Hoche did not shrink. A special effort was made, notwithstanding the state of the French finances, to equip the Brest squadron adequately for the Irish expedition, and when the fleet,

consisting of fifteen sail of the line, twenty frigates, six luggers, and fifty transports,* set forth on its adventure, French confidence in its ability to accomplish its task successfully, ran justifiably high. General Hoche was in command of the military force of about 14,000 men, and the naval force was commanded by Rear-Admiral Morard de Galles.

The expedition left Brest under sealed orders on 16th December, 1796. Aided by a thick fog, the fleet successfully eluded the British frigates under Admiral Colpoys, cruising west of Brest. But a violent storm arose and dispersed the French vessels, the dispersal being accentuated by bad seamanship; one ship foundered. On the 22nd December, sixteen vessels anchored in Bear Haven (Bantry Bay), nineteen remaining outside the harbour, and dispersing on the following day, in consequence of the rough weather.

Unfortunately for the invaders, one of the missing frigates that failed to arrive, had Hoche and de Galles on board, and Admiral Bouvet was compelled to take a decision without them. At a Council of War which was held, a landing was resolved upon, though the total number of men available was less than half the number that embarked. But the stormy weather made a landing impossible. Bouvet waited off the coast for some days, and then, despairing of success, set sail for

* These are the figures given by Thiers. Mr. H. W. Wilson, in the *Cambridge Modern History*, gives seventeen battleships, thirteen frigates, and fifteen other vessels.

Brest on 29th December. On the same day, Hoche and de Galles arrived off Bantry Bay, only to find that they were too late. Nothing remained for them but to follow Bouvet's example. After a highly perilous voyage, they safely reached France. Meantime, other detachments of the fleet had reached Bantry Bay, where they remained, waiting for Hoche until 6th January, when they, too, returned to Brest. The main British fleet, wintering at Spithead, made an unsuccessful attempt to intercept the French vessels. The latter, however, suffered losses in engagements with single British ships, or with frigate detachments, seven being captured, while six were wrecked or foundered.

Alderman MacAulay's account of Hoche's attempt reveals an astounding condition of administrative inefficiency. He asserts that

> "notwithstanding the boasted vigilance of our Administration, and the sanguine expectation of the public from the known naval abilities of Lord Bridport, the expedition from France had sailed from Brest sixteen days, the attempt had proved unsuccessful, and the bulk of the squadron had actually got back into port before our fleet put to sea. It must be recorded that the French fleet put to sea on the 16th and 17th ult. (December), and Lord Bridport on the 3rd inst., so that if Providence had not interfered, no man can divine what the consequences might have been. . . . I am thus particular merely to convince the Fools

and Blockheads of this country that it is not necessary for the French to beat our fleet before the invasion of Gr. Britain or Ireland is practicable. If we had 1000 sail of the Line, wind and contingent circumstances would affect it."

Lord Bridport cannot be censured for letting the Frenchmen escape. Nor can the blame be laid at the door of British strategy. It may have been an error to send the Channel Fleet into winter quarters at Spithead, instead of completely blockading the French coast. But there were two detachments watching Brest: one of thirteen sail under Admiral Colpoys, and the other, nearer Brest, of five frigates and light craft under Captain Sir Edward Bellew. Bellew knew on 13th December that the Brest fleet was coming out, and sent word to Colpoys. He sent another warning to Colpoys on 16th December. He sent a third warning to England on 17th December. Timely notice was thus given to the Admiralty, but for some reason — probably for no reason more obscure than that of gross carelessness or administrative incapacity—Lord Bridport had no instructions until it was too late to act upon them. That French ships should have been permitted to lie in or about Bantry Bay for over a fortnight, without any attempt to attack them, would be incredible were it not an undoubted fact. No wonder Alderman MacAulay writes:—

"I do not know where the blame attaches, or who is culpable, but with such a fleet as we now have

afloat, that the French should send squadrons from port to port without molestation, does appear to me marvellous."

Perhaps the Admiralty relied upon Colpoys giving such a good account of himself as would relieve the Department from the necessity for prompt action; but Colpoys did nothing. The French fleet was miserably equipped; the officers were not remarkable for their knowledge of naval strategy and tactics; the sailors were lacking in discipline, and inclined even to be mutinous; and they were such poor seamen that they could not handle the sails properly. Yet with all these drawbacks, the expedition, in all probability, would have been crowned with complete success had the weather been favourable. It was England's greatest peril since the Armada, said Wolfe Tone; and he was right.

As a diversion from a menace of far greater magnitude, the Directory equipped, in February, 1797, four frigates with a force of 1,500 convicts and deserters, under a hare-brained American adventurer named Colonel Tate—"a grey-headed fellow whose name is Tate" our diarist calls him—charged with the mission of burning Liverpool or Bristol. The landing was actually effected at Fishguard on 22nd February, but the force was surrounded by a body of Yeomanry and Militia under Lord Cawdor, and surrendered without striking a blow, the ships having meanwhile sailed away and left the convicts to their fate. The absence of public alarm is exemplified by Alderman MacAulay's allusion to the

"invasion." On March 1st he writes: "I forgot to mention that the French landed on the 22nd at a place called Fisgard in Pembrokeshire." There is much pregnancy in the confession: "I forgot to mention"! The Alderman's comment on the raid is not without humour. "We send," he says, "our felons to a prodigious distance, to New South Wales at a vast expence. They manage these things better in France" (the Alderman knew his Sterne), "by sending their felons to Old So. Wales at no expence at all."

Thus a foreign hostile force was actually landed on the shores of Great Britain, but the comedy that attended the event did not obscure from the view of the nation the grave problem of dealing with serious invasion, of which fears were so widely entertained. The Brest Expedition had opened the eyes of the country to the possibilities that lay in that direction; and the proved administrative inefficiency of the Admiralty in dealing with that expedition, had undermined public confidence in the Department. "The idea of invasion in London," says our diarist on 18th February, 1797, "gains ground, and what would have been thought madness and impossible 2 years ago is now thought not altogether impracticable or improbable." At the present day there may be some doubting diarists, who are recording similar words for the information of future generations. We have had in these critical times, nervous nightmares disclosed to us of "the Day" finding in our incomparable Navy unsuspected weak spots, and

a successful raid upon our shores proving a startling actuality. Nay, are there not some who even dread a German Trafalgar, involving the destruction of the British Navy, followed by an irresistible invasion, with all its hideous potentialities of "frightfulness"? At the end of the eighteenth century, the Navy of Great Britain, in relation to the strength generally opposed to it, in battleships and frigates, weight of broadside, and number and efficiency of personnel, was considerably weaker than is the British Navy of 1916, compared with the naval force now fearfully skulking in Kiel Harbour. Only in the possession of commanders of genius—of whom Nelson easily came first — was this country indisputably superior to all the other Naval Powers combined. The raw material of our Navy was perhaps no better than that of rival Navies, but the training given on British warships—its harsh discipline and brutal punishments for infractions of discipline notwithstanding—produced tars whose fighting qualities were unequalled on the high seas. There was another side to the shield, as we shall see. The tars of Nelson, in some respects, had little in common with Jellicoe's sailor-men. The courage equally possessed by both, that courage which, as Nelson put it, minded "shot no more than peas," has always been a commonplace of the British Navy.

That the fears of invasion entertained in February 1797 were not groundless, is clear as noonday. Could the combined French and Spanish fleets have obtained, and held, the mastery of the seas, sufficiently long to

permit of an invasion in force, Great Britain would have stood in deadly peril. With a leader like the ex-Sergeant of the Guards, General Hoche, who was a brilliant and daring soldier, as well as a statesman of marked ability, a French expedition, reasonably well-equipped, could, in these circumstances, have hardly failed to succeed. It was, therefore, with a feeling of the profoundest relief that the country received the news of the naval battle off St. Vincent on 14th February, 1797, when Sir John Jervis gained a brilliant victory over a Spanish fleet, greatly superior in number and weight of metal, but conspicuously inferior in all other respects. For this victory, Jervis was created Earl St. Vincent, and Nelson, to whose daring tactics were due the completeness of the triumph, greatly enhanced his reputation. But Jervis was content with having totally defeated the enemy, whereas Nelson would undoubtedly have aimed at his annihilation. Thus the greater portion of the Spanish fleet, still intact and of formidable fighting strength, had to be blockaded at Cadiz by Jervis at a time when his ships were sorely needed elsewhere. For Holland, under its new title of "The Batavian Republic," had gone over to France in 1795, and danger from that quarter was now apprehended. This vassal ally of France was the rival of Great Britain in the seventeenth century for the mastery of the seas. It was less than a century and a half previously, that the roar of hostile Dutch guns had been heard in the Medway and the Thames. The conditions were now altered. There was no Tromp

to flaunt a broom at his mast-head (if he ever did so), as the Sweeper of the Seas. There was no De Ruyter to pit against the genius of Nelson, or even the lesser lights of the British High Command. The Dutch Navy had been allowed to fall into a state of comparative neglect. In the political vicissitudes undergone by the United Provinces, the traditions of the Navy had been dimmed. And the Dutch sailors did not relish the position of their fleet as a pendant of the French Navy. Suffering under all these disadvantages, Holland strove manfully to reorganize both her Army and her Navy, and, before the year 1797 was far advanced, her success began to look promising. Had Jervis annihilated the Spaniards, the Dutch preparations could have been regarded with complacency; but with a strong British squadron tied up before Cadiz, and dependent upon the weather for the continued efficacy of the blockade, the menace offered by a junction of the French, Spanish, and Dutch fleets was not permanently removed. However, the Spanish fleet being cooped up in Cadiz, there was no immediate danger of the dreaded coalition taking place. The victory of Jervis at St. Vincent came to the nation like a draught of cool water to a thirsty man. It refreshed the people amazingly. What Alderman MacAulay describes as "the very unexpected news," lightened "the general gloom that pervaded the town." We seem to be listening to the man in the street, when the Alderman tells us that the "maritime history of England does not exhibit so glorious a conquest,"

and that the achievement by Jervis possessed a "splendour and importance beyond anything in modern times."

There was cause, indeed, for gloom. The uneasiness of the nation was reflected in a financial crisis. The country was saved from panic, only by the prompt measures adopted by Pitt in conjunction with the Bank of England. On 29th February, Alderman MacAulay writes thus in his diary:—

> "The commercial world this morning were alarmed by the appearance in the papers of an Order of Council, addressed to the Bank of England, and the measure [has been] adopted by the pliant Directors to pay no more money for the Notes, and thus the tremendous blow is struck, which must inevitably strike deep into the vitals of the credit of the country: an illegal Order of Council for the Bank of England to suspend all payments in cash."

To a "City" man like MacAulay, with the conservative instincts in financial and commercial matters characteristic of the "City" man, this Order in Council was a much more perturbing incident than the French invasion at Fishguard. He goes on to tell us that—

> "a meeting of bankers and merchants was immediately convened by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, who resolved to support the said measure themselves, and use their influence with others 'not to refuse' taking Bank Notes."

The financial problems that confronted Pitt in the conduct of the war were necessarily grave, and the manner in which he handled the situation shows that his reputation as a great financier is well deserved. He had grown up on the economic nourishment derived from *The Wealth of Nations*, and was a determined foe alike of the restrictive laws that shackled commerce, the greedy monopolists who waxed fat at the nation's expense, and the loose notions that prevailed in the country, even among business men, on the true functions of gold as a medium of exchange. How far, and in what manner, he would have given political shape to the new doctrines of Adam Smith, had the war not broken out, can only be conjectured. But we are justified in believing that so able and ardent a disciple, endowed as he was with far-reaching authority, could not have failed, had he lived, to reconstruct the economic fabric of the country, on the principles laid down by so revered a master. He was afforded an opportunity in the domain of finance, that he was denied in the field of commerce, for testing, in actual practice, the line of thought that he had chosen to follow.

Pitt had to find the money for financing Great Britain and for subsidizing her Allies. Obviously, taxation, even if stretched to the limit of elasticity, was an inadequate source of supply. Borrowing, and borrowing on an extensive scale, was a stern necessity; and Pitt fully recognized the fact. Necessarily, the apportionment of the burden of war

expenses between contemporaries and posterity, must always be a question on which complete agreement of opinion is impossible. The views of contemporaries are apt to diverge from those of the taxpayers to whom the burden is passed on. "We went to war in your interests as well as our own," says one side. "Let those who made the war pay for the war," retorts the other. No great people with a history behind it, and a future ahead of it, could ask, without shame, the question, "What has posterity done for us?" No far-seeing statesman, with the interests of the country committed to his care, could shirk, without disgrace, the responsibilities of the present by the easy method of drawing bills on futurity. The nice adjustment of taxation to be borne by all, but so distributed as not to press unfairly upon any section of the community, is not a more delicate problem to solve, than the just co-ordination of the needs of the present with the capacities of the future. Pitt confronted the problem by taking with one hand, and giving with the other. He borrowed heavily (how small the loans appear to us at the present day!), but he saved largely. Persistently he clung to his Sinking Fund, and the stock acquired by the National Debt Commissioners during the years when the capital liabilities of the State were being piled up by the expenses of the war, formed a substantial relief from the burden permanently imposed upon the country. Our diarist tells us that the debt contracted in the first four years of the war reached £101,504,044, and that the National Debt, exclusive

of the amount added in 1796, stood at £360,228,020. These were stupendous figures in the eyes of the Alderman. One wonders what he would have thought of a war expenditure by this country amounting to five millions daily.

In another direction, Pitt's loans had the appearance of favouring the taxpayers at the expense of posterity. In 1797, the Three per cents. stood at a depressingly low figure. Our diarist (who, as a "City" man, followed the Funds closely, and kept a record of prices as a war-barometer), tells us that, in September, 1797, after another failure on Pitt's part to arrange a peace, the Three per cents. fell to 47, and what was called the "Loyalty" Loan stood at 17½ per cent. discount. But in the same year, Five per cent. stock in France fell to the astonishingly low figure of 20. There were two courses open to Pitt: either to borrow in a stock of a low denomination, or to borrow in a stock corresponding with the true market value. The latter must have ranged from 4 to 5 per cent. at different periods since the outbreak of the war, and cannot have been less than 5 per cent. during the greater part of 1797. But the British public seem to have had an ineradicable attachment to the sweet simplicity of the Three per cents. The speculative attractions of a stock which was sure to appreciate considerably in value, on the declaration of a favourable peace, appealed to them with far more force than a sound investment, the capital value of which had only restricted gambling possibilities. The public simply would not have Five

or even Four per cents.; they would only accept Threes. On one occasion, Pitt offered options in Threes, Fours, and Fives, the Fives being the best market value, but 85 per cent. of the whole was taken in Threes.

Thus an enormous amount of capital debt, unrepresented by cash, was created for future generations to liquidate, while the cost of the interest was correspondingly lightened for contemporaries. This was entirely opposed to Pitt's wishes, but he had to find money where and how he could; and if the public would have none of his attempts to make the stocks square with facts, he could not enforce his views. Authorities differ in their opinion of Pitt's attitude, some financiers believing that the course he was compelled to adopt was, in the long run, the more economical of the two. In our own day, we have had to face a similar problem when issuing War Stock, with a severely depreciated market for Consols and all gilt-edged securities. The manner in which the Government has handled the problem, although not above criticism, has at least shown a recognition of facts in the denominations of the issues.

In November, 1796, Pitt tried an experiment in "patriotic" loans, on which Alderman MacAulay severely animadverts. Pitt's proposal was that there should be a forced loan for twenty millions, but his advisers negatived the proposal as both "unprecedented and impracticable." Pitt was not a man to be hampered by precedents in a time of war; yet he was not a man to undertake the impracticable. The

form of issue finally decided upon, our diarist describes as "an open loan on funded security, with a bonus to the subscriber of 9½ per cent."* The Alderman, as a financial purist, is greatly shocked by such a method of raising money. He rates the "prostituted prints" soundly for describing it as a "masterpiece in finance," and is "greatly distressed that the country should be insulted and cheated" into the belief that subscriptions to the loan displayed a laudable spirit of patriotism.

> "Where in the name of God!" he exclaims, "is the disinterested patriotism of a man to subscribe £50,000 to a loan by which he gets unequivocally 9½ per cent. for his money, with a chance of full 9½ per cent. more if peace is the consequence of the present negotiations, when he could not possibly get, legally, more than 5 per cent. in any other manner? The mode is popular, but undeniably a private loan where competition was admitted would [have] been infinitely more advantageous to the people. Oh, Johnny Bull, what an eternal Jack-Ass thou art!"

In subsequent entries, the Alderman notes the depreciation in the value of the "Loyalty" Loan, with the satisfaction of one who might be saying, "I told you so!" The "City" men in Pitt's day, therefore, were not unanimous in hailing him as a

* He tells us later that "Mr. Pitt has at length yielded his intention of giving a bonus" to the "Loyalty" Loan.

heaven-born financier. Certainly, he did not show any lack of fertility in invention for finding money, especially in the domain of taxation. He introduced what are sometimes regarded as recent expedients, such as a legacy duty, and a graduated income-tax, which reached down to incomes of £60 a year, and took a tenth of incomes of £200 upwards. Even voluntary contributions to the Treasury were, with some success, solicited. Pitt's desire was to hamper trade and commerce as little as possible with crushing taxation, and his success is shown by the remarkable expansion, not only in the value of our imports, but our exports as well, during the first six years of the war.

The British command of the seas was not so complete in 1797 as it is in 1916. It was far more precarious, and far less efficacious, as a protector of commerce. The Alderman, as a member of the insurance world, complains bitterly, in 1797 (a year of heavy losses in merchantmen),* of the inadequate protection afforded by the Navy against the daring activity of the French privateers. For "French privateers" substitute "German submarine pirates," and the same conditions are reproduced to-day. But whereas in the latter case, the interference with British trade, in relation to its total bulk, has not been embarrassing, the passing of the Convoys Act, in 1798, compelling all British vessels to sail under convoy, reflected the alarm caused by the serious injury inflicted upon our shipping by the French.

* The French took 949 British merchantmen in 1797. The total clearance of British vessels outwards was 1,103.

From this general review of Pitt's financial policy, we may return for a moment to the scare in February, 1797, when the Bank of England was ordered to suspend all payments in cash. But for the patriotic support of the London merchants and bankers, who resolved to accept the Bank notes as legal tender, and to endeavour to persuade others not to refuse to accept them, the measure might well have precipitated, instead of averting, a panic. It was an act of precaution on the part of Pitt, which was justified by the state of public uneasiness that prevailed. Doubtless, he had taken steps to sound feeling in the "City" before resorting to so drastic a step, and the result showed that he had gauged the "City" sentiment accurately.

In order to make the paper more serviceable to the community, an issue of £1 and £2 notes was made by the Bank, and these notes continued to be legal tender until 1819. We, at the present day, are familiar with the Treasury Notes for £1 and 10s. issued by the Government after the outbreak of the War, and no one has been seriously inconvenienced by the large withdrawal of gold from circulation. In theory, Treasury Notes and Bank of England Notes, in point of security, are not on the same plane. But just as, at the present day, it is not uncommon to meet people who regard the Bank of England as a Department of the State, instead of the greatest Joint-Stock Bank in the world (privileged in its note issue, it is true, and with the high prestige of being not only the Government Bank,

but the Bankers' Bank), so, in 1797, it is probable that there was not, in the public mind, a nice discrimination between the Bank and the Government. That fact of itself would tend to reconcile the public to accept paper for gold without demur; and there does not seem to have been any difficulty in inducing the community to accept the new Bank Notes as readily as metal. Our diarist, who was quite at home in matters of finance, acknowledges that the new measure enabled the Bank to be "very liberal in their discounts." His caustic comment that the "merchants being contented with paper that is current, for paper that is not current," does not dispose of the solid advantages that accrued from the step. In the conservative spirit of the "City," he was more concerned for the soundness of the principle at stake, than with the practical benefits that the country derived from what was admittedly a divergence from all accepted theories of sound finance. He forgot, what many people forget at the present day, that a state of war justifies the complete jettisoning of shibboleths, and the temporary defiance even of economic dogmas, if these departures help in securing victory.

The financial crisis that threatened the country was averted by Pitt's bold device, and the patriotism of the "City." It is rather significant that stocks advanced 1½ per cent. on 27th February, the date of the announcement of the Order in Council to the Bank of England, whereas the advance on 3rd March, the date upon which Captain Robert Calder brought

the news of the great naval victory off Cape St. Vincent, was only ½ per cent. This would appear to suggest that the sense of relief felt by the "City" as the result of the firm handling by the Government of the critical financial situation, surpassed even the sense of relief from the immediate danger of invasion imparted by the defeat of the Spaniards.

Within two months of the public rejoicings over Jervis's victory, which had added lustre to the renown of the Navy, a cloud of sinister appearance was seen on the horizon, growing darker and more menacing as it gradually overspread the sky. For a time it seemed as if the Navy's fair fame was about to be not merely dimmed, but obliterated, by the abandonment of its duty towards the country which it was sworn to defend. On 19th April, Alderman MacAulay notes in his diary that accounts were received of

> "a serious mutiny on board Lord Bridport's fleet at Spithead. The seamen refuse to go to sea without increase of pay, etc., which has occasioned Lord Spencer * to go down."

The seriousness of the mutiny was apparently not realized at first, if this entry is a fair index of public opinion. But on 21st April, the Alderman writes—

> "The mutiny at Spithead is of a very extended degree. . . . They have actually taken posses-

* Lord Spencer succeeded Lord Chatham, Pitt's brother, as First Lord of the Admiralty.

sion of all the ships and demand a redress of grievances before they will return to duty and obedience."

As a fact, a mutiny had broken out in the Navy, which, before its final suppression, brought the country to the verge of the most imminent peril. Let us consider, for a moment, the conditions that existed in our first line of defence in the year 1797. Voluntary enlistment was largely supplemented by forced service; and a certain number of men were raised by ballot in the counties. Crimps made a business of decoying likely recruits; pressgangs scoured the country for any lusty young fellows who looked as if they could be flogged into passable sailormen. Pressed men were knocked on the head if they resisted; they were driven into the Navy much in the same way as refractory cattle are driven on board the vessel which they dread. They included men taken from all sorts of employment; from all grades of the lower orders: from thieves as well as from honest men; from United Irishmen as well as from loyal subjects of King George the Third. On board ship, their pay was small; their food was poor; they had a taste of the cat-o'-nine-tails for trivial offences; and serious breaches of discipline were punishable by flogging to death, or within sight of it. Cooped up in what was virtually a prison under the most favourable circumstances, and a hell-on-the-sea if the officers were brutal, as they sometimes were, it is not surprising that the

men deserted when they got the chance, which was not often. In consequence of this tendency to desert, no leave was granted to the sailors when in port, and those who were married never had a chance of seeing their wives and families. These conditions of service must inevitably have had a brutalizing effect upon the men. Instead of being surprised at the outbreak of 1797, we, at the present day, may well marvel that, considering the heterogeneous elements of which its personnel was composed, the British Navy had hitherto shown itself a model of discipline for other Navies to copy. The naval officers of 1797 would doubtless hold that the discipline was good, because of the severity of the conditions by which it was maintained; but the naval officers of the present day would probably retort that the discipline was good in spite of the conditions.

Clearly the need for reform was clamant, though the time for demanding the reform suggests a reflection on the men's patriotism. "Our country's extremity is our opportunity" would appear, superficially, to have been the spirit actuating the mutiny. But it must be remembered that the grievances of the men were not things of yesterday, and that the war had been in progress for four years before any symptoms of revolt showed themselves. Probably the contrast between the invaluable services rendered to the country during that period by the Navy, and the scurvy treatment of the sailors by the Admiralty, had accentuated the normal feeling of discontent.

Also, during the war, the prices of provisions had advanced 30 per cent., while the men's pay remained the same. The sailors' sense of justice was outraged by a comparison of what the country owed to them, with the manner in which the debt was being discharged. They had no illusion on the score of their value to the nation. Nelson quotes a saying current with seamen in his day: "Aft the most honour; forward the better man." Alderman MacAulay reinforces the self-esteem of the sailors by words that are probably an echo of public opinion—

> "The seamen of this country," he writes, "as far as fighting goes, are a magnanimous race of heroes, and perhaps not one instance can be adduced where they shrank from their duty, or deserted their guns, if their officers would stand by them. And in more than one instance in this way, after every officer had been killed, a common sailor has fought his ship well and successfully."

There was an element in the men's revolt other than the merely material; the human element. According to Nelson, the disgust of seamen for the Navy was all owing to the

> "infernal plan of turning them over from ship to ship, so that men could not be attached to the officers, nor the officers care the least about the men."

One of the ships that took part in the mutiny was *The Theseus*, a vessel that soon afterwards flew

Nelson's flag. The men of the *Theseus* thanked Admiral Nelson and Captain Miller (by means of a note thrown on the quarter-deck) for the officers they had placed over them, and declared their readiness to "shed every drop of blood in our veins to support them." They were now "happy and comfortable," they said, from which it may be inferred that they were previously both unhappy and uncomfortable. Nelson was beloved by his men; they would do anything or go anywhere for him. They knew that he studied their interests, and would not willingly permit any injustice to be done to them; and they knew, too, that he was the greatest genius, and the boldest commander then afloat. This well-founded esteem, and this mutual confidence, engendered a fighting spirit among Nelson's men that contributed in no small measure to his striking successes.

But mutual sympathy between officers and men was, in Nelson's time, the exception and not the rule, Although promotion was on a more democratic basis than is now the case, there was a wider social gap between the quarter-deck and the lower deck in the eighteenth century than there is at the present day. By the officers of His Majesty's Navy in 1797, the revolutionary notions so fashionable on the other side of the Channel, were held to be seditious nonsense. There was little of the fine feeling of comradeship in a common service, so characteristic nowadays of our Navy, from the Admiral down to the bluejacket. The repulsive cruelty by means of

which it was sometimes thought necessary to maintain discipline in the ships of King George the Third, was simply a reflection of the spirit of the times, which finds similar expression in some of our diarist's entries. Equally characteristic of the times was the indifference shown by the Admiralty to the comfort of the men. Nelson and other commanders of a like mind, who looked after arrears of pay due to their sailors, and demanded recognition for ability and good conduct, whether found aft, or forward, were doubtless regarded as interfering nuisances by such men as Pitt's brother, Lord Chatham, who, when First Lord of the Admiralty, was as lazy and incompetent as his younger brother, when First Minister of the Crown, was energetic and capable. Nelson's outspokenness almost certainly retarded his promotion. Pitt cannot be altogether exonerated from blame for the persistent favouritism shown by the Admiralty to its pets, and the snubs inflicted by the Admiralty on its critics. Nelson's championship of the lower deck was probably distasteful to the dignified elderly men of the Admiralty Board, who, however neglectful they might be of the well-being of the common sailors, never forgot to teach innovating officers to know their proper places.

The main facts of the naval mutiny or mutinies (for there were several) of 1797, are well-known, though the inner mechanism of the revolt has been a little obscured by the dust of political prejudice. The wheels of the machine were set in motion by the men of the Channel Fleet, at Spithead. They

recited their grievances in a series of petitions to Lord Howe, before that distinguished officer relinquished the command of the fleet. No notice was taken of these petitions. It is more than likely that one of them, at least, reached the Admiralty, and was pigeon-holed for reference on some future occasion. Alderman MacAulay, indeed, gives us the public's opinion of the Admiralty when he states that

> "it is said that his Lordship (Howe) did present it (the men's petition) to the Admiralty, where it has lain ever since, as many other petitions do, with no more intention paid to it by Government than if it had been a blank piece of paper."

The men repudiated any suggestion of disloyalty, and their conduct shows that there was nothing seditious in the outbreak. They claimed that their complaints were due to what they called "indigence and extreme penury," a phrase which suggests that the sea-lawyer was on board. The Channel Fleet was to have sailed on 15th April, but there was still no reply from the Admiralty to the men's demands, though the Board had ample warning that trouble was apprehended. The demands of the men were not excessive. They required increased pay, better food, and fuller weight; an improvement in the care of the sick; continuance of pay to the wounded until recovered or discharged; and shore leave when practicable. The Admiralty should have recognized the complete reasonableness of these demands, and

should have consequently granted them without further ado. But the Admiralty (like all Government Departments then and now), was far too dignified to acknowledge frankly, by giving way, that it had been in the wrong in the past not to have remedied the men's just grievances of its own accord. The sailors' requests were simply ignored; and the ships were ordered to sea. That was the signal for the outbreak of the mutiny. The men refused to obey orders. They took possession of the ships; elected a committee consisting of delegates from each vessel; and announced that they would wait for two days for an answer from the Admiralty, failing which, they would put their officers ashore. The delegates drew up a fresh document enumerating their demands; and the next word lay with the Board in London. The Board was now compelled to take action. Four of the members hastened to Portsmouth, and gave soothing assurances about pay. But the men were still distrustful; they wanted these assurances to be confirmed by the King and the Parliament, the confirmation to be accompanied by a general pardon. One of the members of the Board, Admiral Gardner, spoiled all chances of an accommodation by reviling the men, and threatening to have every fifth seaman in the fleet hanged, a peculiarly fatuous threat, which was probably symptomatic of the Admiralty's general attitude towards the sailors. In spite of this provocation, the men continued to maintain their self-control, and they put ashore only those officers who had made themselves

obnoxious, either by their ill-treatment of the sailors, or otherwise.

A week after the outbreak of the mutiny, Lord Bridport announced to the men that it had been decided to remedy their grievances; and this announcement temporarily satisfied the sailors.* But Parliament was still dilatory, or openly antagonistic, towards the men; and the hostility of the Admiralty was finally expressed in an Order of 31st May for rigorous measures to be taken against the mutineers. This breach of faith on the part of the Board caused a fresh outbreak. The sailors took possession of the ships without resistance, the only exception being Admiral Colpoys's flagship, the *London*. Her marines fired upon and killed, or mortally wounded, four or five of the men's delegates, who fired in turn with, in one instance, a fatal result. Colpoys, who gave or authorized the order to the marines to fire, was, with Captain Griffith, confined to his cabin by the men, but was ultimately set at liberty. Meantime, the dilatoriness of the House of Commons in granting supplies had been overcome, and the men had the satisfaction of knowing that Parliament had actually voted the money. But they were still suspicious—not without reason—and it was not until Howe (who was *persona grata* with the sailors) was sent down to Portsmouth, endowed with plenary powers, that the mutiny was finally quelled. Howe

* Alderman MacAulay tells us that the rate of pay was raised by 5s. 6d. a month, making the total pay 1s. a day without deduction.

knew how to deal with the men. He settled all their grievances without difficulty; assured them of a general pardon; promised to remove their unpopular officers; and finally, saved the dignity of the Admiralty by persuading the sailors to say that they were sorry that they had mutinied! It was not a settlement that reflected any credit, either upon the Board of Admiralty, or upon Pitt. The latter, who was practically the Dictator of the House of Commons, should have forced the Lords Commissioners to awake for once out of their slumbers; and he should have pushed the vote of supplies through the House of Commons with some semblance of rapidity. Delay in the circumstances was a gamble with the country's safety; and the ignominious surrender to the men after an attempt to bluff them, was dangerously subversive of discipline. Lord Bridport complained that the shock to discipline would be felt throughout the Navy, and our diarist echoes that view. A squadron of the Channel Fleet lying at anchor in Torbay, and taken round to Spithead by the men, in defiance of orders, had caught the infection of revolt, which ultimately spread to parts as far distant as the Mediterranean, the Cape, and the West Indies. These outbreaks were without serious result, except the mutiny in the West Indies, where, on the night of September 22nd, the crew of the frigate *Hermione* murdered ten of their officers and handed over their ship to the Spaniards at La Guayra. But the most dangerous mutiny of all was the Mutiny of the Nore.

It will be remembered that the policy of the

Directory was to strike at Great Britain by means of a junction of the French, Spanish, and Dutch Fleets, and to prevent this junction was an imperative duty that rested upon Pitt. The Spaniards were blockaded at Cadiz; the French were kept under observation at Brest; and on the North Sea Fleet devolved the duty of watching the Dutchmen. On 2nd May, four vessels of this fleet, then lying at the Nore, mutinied; and soon the whole fleet was infected. Like their comrades at Spithead, the men elected delegates to act for them, and they chose as their leader, one Richard Parker, an ex-midshipman, who had been court-martialled some years previously for insubordination, and discharged from the service, subsequently rejoining (he was a unit in a county quota) as a common sailor. The demands of the Nore mutineers were mainly on the same lines as those of the men at Spithead, but they went rather further, inasmuch as they required a more even distribution of prize-money, and demanded liberty to go ashore, when in port, as a right. They required, also, such alterations in the Articles of War as would lessen the severity of the penalties imposed for breaches of discipline. It cannot be said that, except for the men's request to have shore-leave as a matter of right, these additional demands were unreasonable.

The Admiralty refused the demands pointblank. The mutineers, who had anchored across the Thames and commenced what was, in effect, a blockade of the port of London, fired on the port of Sheerness. The Board of Admiralty came to Sheerness to reason

with the men, who had now possession of twenty-six ships. Neither side would give way. Legislation dealing with the crisis was now passed by Parliament; thousands of troops were got ready for all contingencies; the fort at Tilbury opened fire on the ships; at the mouth of the Thames, the buoys and beacons were removed: and orders were given that, if necessary, the ships were to be set on fire by red-hot shot from the river batteries. The Admiralty had wakened up with a vengeance! Freed from the Spithead menace, for the sailors were now safe at sea, the Board were determined to put up with no nonsense from the mutineers of the North Sea Fleet. Their policy of sustained firmness succeeded. It was in strong contrast to their suspicious vacillation a few weeks previously. The mutiny of the North Sea Fleet gradually collapsed; it was up against a dead wall of resistance which the men realized there was no surmounting. There was some bloodshed before the crews finally gave in, but the suppression of the mutiny was accompanied by remarkably little violence. The men thoroughly understood genuine strength. What they did not understand was weakness masquerading as strength. By the middle of June, the men had returned to duty; Parker and several of his associates were prisoners; others of the delegates had fled to France in boats; and all danger was temporarily at an end. Subsequently, Parker and some of his companions were tried and executed, and several of the other ringleaders suffered various degrees of punishment, certain of them being

flogged round the fleet. A considerable number were imprisoned, but were pardoned and released as an act of grace after the battle of Camperdown.

There cannot be room for doubt that the Government would have meted out the same punishment to the Spithead mutineers had they dared. But a simultaneous suppression of the mutinous spirit at both stations was beyond their power. They had to yield to the men at Spithead, and get them off to sea before turning their attention to the men at the Nore. They divided and ruled. But whereas in one case, they failed to conciliate by their weakness; in the other, they failed to conquer by their strength. For the mutineers of the Nore, though cowed, were not conquered; and the mutineers of Spithead, though they were conquered, were not satisfied. Alderman MacAulay tells us that early in July, two vessels of the Channel Fleet, the *Mars* and *Saturn*, returned to port guarded by the *Queen Charlotte*, the crews being in a state of insubordination, "but to what extent the public are not at present acquainted." The public, in fact, had ceased to take any interest in the mutineers after Parker's execution on 30th June, which they regarded as the closing scene of the play. But the Government knew better. For years, traces of the mutinies of 1797 were discernible in the spirit of the Navy, giving rise to great anxiety on the part of the Admiralty. It is stated that even on the eve of Trafalgar, there was some ground for distrust.

The sailors' mutiny in 1797, during a time of

war, inevitably invites comparison with the labour strikes during the present war. As in 1797, so in 1915, complaints were made by the public of the lack of patriotism shown by the men. In both years, the strikers were believed to be taking advantage of the nation's dependence upon them, to extort improved conditions for themselves. In both cases, enemy intrigues were suspected to be at the bottom of the trouble, though proofs of such intrigues were never discovered. Nothing, however, is plainer than the fact that the strikes in both years had their roots in economic causes.

The sailors who, in 1797, imperilled the safety of the country by refusing to go to sea, and the miners who, in 1915, hindered the successful prosecution of the war by refusing to dig coal, equally protested against the charge of being unpatriotic; and their protests were made in all sincerity. Beyond doubt, they were patriotic.* But their patriotism was weighed in the balance with their personal interests, and the scale descended heavily on the side of self-interest. Yet those sailors would have gladly risked death in fighting for their country against the French; and these miners, like their brothers at the front, would have willingly faced the limit of German "frightfulness" in defence of their native land. Here is a paradox; but it is not an inexplicable paradox.

* Madame D'Arblay relates in her diary a conversation with the Princess Augusta on the subject of the "terrible mutiny," from which it appears that the Princess was convinced of the "good hearts" of the sailors. (Diary, pp. 358-9.)

The patriotism of the sailors and the miners alike lacked imagination. And the blame which attaches to their conduct, should be justly shared by those who were responsible for placing the men in a position which called for a test of character that they were not able to stand.

Lack of concord between the men and those above them, together with a deep-rooted suspicion of Governmental good faith, was at the root of the trouble in both years. A curious parallel exists between the missions of negotiation entrusted to Lord Howe in 1797, and to Mr. Lloyd George in 1915, for settling the principal strikes. Both negotiators were known by the men to be in general sympathy with their aspirations; consequently, the men trusted them. Both met the men's grievances in a large and conciliatory spirit, and they settled the dispute substantially on the strikers' terms. The obvious retort to this is, that it is easy to settle strikes by conceding everything that is demanded. Why not, if the demands are just? Lord Howe and Mr. Lloyd George may be bracketted together as types of men whose prompt methods and personal influence, based upon sympathy, count for infinitely more in settling labour disputes than the higgling and procrastinating methods, and the exasperating aloofness, of an army of officials, swathed from head to foot in red tape. The plain lesson taught, alike in 1797 and in 1915, is, that while unjust demands should be uncompromisingly resisted, legitimate grievances should be voluntarily remedied before the

application of force to obtain concessions compels either a humiliating surrender, or a disastrous fight. To anticipate just demands leaves no sting behind; to concede them, as the price of settling a strike, leaves a festering wound, which time may heal, but which is equally likely to break out afresh, perhaps with greater virulence than before. When a sense of injustice rankles, it is certain, sooner or later, to find expression in some form that will certainly cause trouble, and may lead straight to disaster.

How nearly the mutinies of 1797 brought disaster to this country is now clearly discernible. It can hardly be supposed that the French Directors were fully acquainted with the facts; otherwise it is inconceivable that they should have neglected to seize such a golden opportunity for dealing Great Britain a mortal blow. It is true that the French squadron lying at Brest was in a low state of efficiency, the discipline being bad, the number of men inadequate, and the equipment insufficient. But the ever-active Hoche was even then planning another descent upon Ireland—the Brest ships to co-operate with a Dutch squadron, and both with the Spanish fleet, if a gale should compel Lord St. Vincent to take off his watch-dogs. Hoche's idea was to detach 20,000 men of his best troops from the army of the Sambre and the Meuse, and to march them to Brest, whence they were to embark for Ireland. He, himself, went secretly to Holland to superintend the despatch of the Dutch troops intended for the expedition. Seventeen thousand Dutch soldiers of good quality were

actually embarked, and the Dutch squadron only awaited the signal to sail and join the expedition then in course of preparation at Brest. This was the alarming position in the month of May, at the very time that the mutinies in the British Navy were at their height.

Immediately after the outbreak of the mutiny at the Nore, intelligence was received that the Dutch Fleet was preparing to put to sea with forty-two large transports. Admiral Duncan, who commanded the North Sea Fleet, took immediate steps to meet the threat. But he could only induce twelve of the ships to put to sea, and was deserted by ten of them as the Fleet lay becalmed off Yarmouth. Yet this intrepid sailor actually undertook, with his two remaining vessels, to blockade the Texel, in which were lying fourteen Dutch sail-of-the-line. The Dutch were completely deceived. They concluded that Duncan's two ships were merely scouts from the main British Fleet that (they supposed) lay further out at sea; therefore, they remained in harbour. Duncan's bluff saved his country. For had the Dutch known the truth, nothing, humanly speaking, could have prevented Great Britain from suffering perhaps the greatest disaster in her history. Had the British people known the full extent of the danger from which they had narrowly escaped, they would have drawn a long breath of relief. The preparations made in Holland for sending the fleet to sea at this particular time, cannot reasonably be attributed to the mutinies simul-

taneously in progress in English waters; otherwise, how is the complete inaction at Brest to be explained? There is evidence that the French knew of the existence of some internal troubles in England; but it is impossible not to believe that they were imperfectly informed of the nature and gravity of the disorders. Never before, and never since, have Britain's foes had her so completely at their mercy, had they but known of the chances that her own sailors had provided. Great Britain, with her Navy in open mutiny, was like Samson shorn of his locks. Any first-rate Power could have come and bound her with ease. Admiral Duncan, with his two ships, prevented the junction of the Dutch and French Fleets, planned by Hoche; and a unique opportunity was lost by the Allies.

At the most critical stage of the Spithead mutiny (just before Howe appeared upon the scene), there was a danger, the extent of which it is difficult to gauge, that the counsels of the most desperate among the men might prevail; in which event, some of the ships might have gone over to the enemy at Brest. It seems certain that the intelligence which induced the Admiralty to give Howe a free hand to settle the dispute, must have been of a serious nature. Also, there was a real risk that the feeling of unrest, which had spread to the Army, might develop there, as in the Navy, into a state of mutiny. The lessons taught by the sailors' revolt being deeply engraved upon his mind, Pitt wisely forestalled demands from the soldiers, and prevented trouble by volun-

tary concessions towards the improvement of their lot.

With the certainty that Austria was but a broken reed to lean upon; with the Navy in a state of disaffection towards the Government; with the Army liable, at any time, to follow the example of the Navy; with Ireland in rebellion; and with the Funds at 48; Pitt must have felt that he was standing on the edge of the crater of a volcano that might at any time become active and overwhelm him utterly. Peace at any price, consistently with honour, now seemed imperative. Negotiations were opened with the Directory, resulting in the appointment, for the second time, of Lord Malmesbury, England's most dexterous diplomatist, to treat for a peace. Lille was chosen as the place of negotiation, and Malmesbury and his retinue arrived there on 4th July. The Directors feared the intrigues of Malmesbury, if Paris were selected; while the polished Malmesbury, on his part, had no wish to meet a Government "whose forms had some rudeness." Malmesbury was accompanied by Ellis, whose function it was to conduct, in concert with his chief, the secret negotiations with the French envoys, and the correspondence with Pitt, that formed the real business of the mission, as distinguished from the official and artificial negotiations. A glance at the composition of the Directory will be useful to show the obstacles that had to be overcome, in order to secure the success of Malmesbury's mission.

The Directors of France were five in number, and these five formed two distinct parties; one composed of Carnot (the President) and Barthélemy, and the other of Rewbel, Barras, and Lareveillère-Lepeaux. Carnot and Barthélemy represented the moderate Republicans, who only opposed the Government when it deviated from the Constitution, and were consequently called Constitutionalists. The Constitutionalists were the chief hope of England for securing peace. Carnot, an able and an honest man, was the most reputable of the Directors, too reputable in fact, for some of his associates. His colleague, Barthélemy, fell within Carnot's orbit; he had been wise as an Ambassador, but was weak as a Director. The three Revolutionary Directors, who formed the majority of the Executive, are painted respectively by French and English historians in colours that do not harmonize. Lareveillère was mainly distinguished for the violence of his antagonism towards Christianity (according to Barras, the very sight of a priest "convulsed" him), and by his leadership of the sect who called themselves by the absurd name of Theophilanthropists. He is styled by Thiers a man of "courage and integrity." Possibly he was; most fanatics are. Rewbel, the same historian believes to have been a man of "probity and intelligence." His intelligence was undoubted; he was the ablest man of business on the Executive; and his personality was the most masterful. But his probity was suspect; judging by the large fortune with which he retired, he must

have feathered his nest well when in office. His manner was coarse and overbearing, contrasting with the silky suavity of his colleague, Barras. Of the latter, Thiers remarks that he was suspected by his coadjutors of possessing neither integrity nor principle. This supple and sinister Director was absolutely shameless in the prostitution of his honour. If he would not "sell his soul for sixpence," he was, at anyrate, always ready to consider an offer for that elastic article. Such was the Government "whose forms had some rudeness"—as might well be supposed. The Directory sent to Lille, as their representatives, Letourneur, who had just retired by lot from the Executive (where he supported Carnot), being succeeded by Barthélemy; Le Peley (who, in a few days after his arrival at Lille was appointed to the Ministry of the Marine); and Maret (afterwards Duc de Bassano), who had been twice in England, and was favourably known to Pitt. Maret was introduced to public affairs by Talleyrand, who, apparently, held no high opinion of the capabilities of his *protégé*. "In all France," he remarked of him, after he had been made Duc de Bassano, "I know but one greater ass than Maret, and that is the Duc de Bassano." Ass, or no ass, Maret knew, at least, something about the forms of diplomacy, with which his colleagues were totally unacquainted. They regarded the English as dangerous intriguers, and realizing their own inferiority in tact and dexterity, they were constantly on their guard, fearful lest they should commit themselves by some blunder.

This attitude of suspicion prolonged the negotiations and hampered a settlement.

Alderman MacAulay gives his views on the second mission of Lord Malmesbury to France as he did on the first. On August 6th he writes—

> "The more a man of reason and unbiased judgement" (and the Alderman plumed himself on being both) "contemplates the great objects which are on the tapis on the other side the water, he will believe the more unquiet the state of things in Paris (and) the less likely is Lord Malmesbury's mission to be successful. It is the natural consequence of things, for if peace and tranquility are restored to England, a civil war will issue in France. That evil can only be averted by a prolongation of hostility."

In view of the conditions then existing in France, on which he seems to have made himself well-informed, the Alderman's arguments were sound; and in prognosticating failure for Malmesbury's second mission, as he did for the first, he was once more right. Yet there was a time during the negotiations when peace seemed to be within sight.

It will be remembered that the peace negotiations in 1796 centred upon the retention, by the French, of the Netherlands; and the position of Holland in relation to France. The situation was now entirely different. Austria had definitely relinquished the Netherlands to France, and Holland was in arms against Britain. Yet, although it was no longer

possible to place these questions in the foreground of the negotiations, not for one moment was their vital nature forgotten by Pitt. "This downright Englishman," remarks Thiers of Pitt, "could not, in fact, consent to leave the Netherlands definitely to France." It is not too much to say that had peace been reached by means of these negotiations, it would have been merely a truce. Great Britain could never have acquiesced in the permanent possession of Belgium by, and the vassal alliance of Holland with, the military power that was now seeking to dominate Europe.

The terms asked by the Directory's Commissioners were pitched in a high key. If Pitt wanted peace, he could have it—at a price. The King of England must renounce the title of King of France. The vanity and the obstinacy even of George the Third could hardly be proof against so reasonable a proposal, for the title was now empty and meaningless. The ships taken at Toulon were to be restored to France. That, too, was a demand deserving consideration. All the colonies taken from France, Spain, and Holland, were to be restored to them. In other words, the whole of the gains of Great Britain in the war—and they were substantial—were to be surrendered. In exchange, Great Britain was to have peace; a peace that would have been virtually equivalent to an acknowledgment of defeat.

Malmesbury saw at once that these terms were impossible of acceptance. The official negotiations had broken down before they were well commenced.

Then the private negotiations were set on foot in order to effect a compromise. Malmesbury agreed to surrender the French colonies; but he would not give up Trinidad to Spain, nor the Cape of Good Hope, nor Trincomalee, to Holland. He resisted the renunciation of the title of King of France; and offered an indemnity of £500,000 in lieu of the restoration of the captured French ships. But these terms were probably at no time insurmountable obstacles to peace. The crux of the negotiations ultimately lay in the retention or the surrender of the Cape; and on that point Malmesbury was inflexible.

At this stage of the bargaining, Great Britain's ancient ally, Portugal, entered into a treaty with France, thus depriving the British Fleet of its invaluable station on the Tagus. This defection from Britain weakened Malmesbury's hands, and correspondingly stiffened the demands of the Frenchmen. The negotiations proceeded to Britain's disadvantage. Ultimately, an accommodation was reached on the minor points, and on the question of the Cape, it was agreed that it should be restored to Holland, on condition that France should never use the advantage of her relations with the Dutch to take possession of it.

These secret negotiations were conducted on the French side by Maret, and the results were communicated by him to the Directory. The terms were excellent for France, and it was reasonable to believe that they would be accepted by the Directors.

Carnot and Barthélemy voted for their acceptance; the other three voted against their acceptance. Rewbel wished to see Holland made a province of the Republic, and all her colonies taken over by France; Lareveillère was opposed to any sacrifice whatever being demanded from Spain or Holland; while Barras was feeling his way until he could decide on his price. Lord Malmesbury reported that he had received a communication, purporting to come from Barras, offering to secure peace for a payment of £500,000 to Rewbel and himself. Thiers states that Malmesbury offered to buy the vote of one of the Directors; but that Maret refused to be a party to the transaction. That it should be possible for such an offer to be made (if it was made) by a British diplomatist to one of the five governors of France, shows the estimation in which the Directors (or, to be more precise, Barras) was held by other countries. Whatever the facts, the bribe was not paid, and "the Attorneys of the Directory," as Napoleon contemptuously called them, rejected by a majority of votes, the peace proposals. Years afterwards, Carnot declared that had his advice been taken, France would have made peace on conditions that could never occur again. Events proved that he was right.

Whatever chances there might have been of a resumption of the negotiations at Lille, with the view of reconciling the differences between Malmesbury and the Directory, were destroyed by the internal conditions of France as they were then developing.

The tangled web of French politics at this juncture is a little difficult to unravel, but two main factors, which make subsequent events explicable, are sufficiently clear. On the one hand, Royalist plots were rife, and on the other hand, irreconcilable differences existed between the legislative bodies and the Executive. The conspirators at Clichy might be hunted out of the country, but there was no escape from a trial of strength between the Revolutionary majority of the Directory, and the Constitutional majority of the Chambers. The trio of stalwarts on the Executive determined to forestall their rivals by manœuvres, which included the filling-up of places with their own creatures, and the control of the military. The Royalist conspiracy, in which Pichegru, the conqueror of Holland, was undoubtedly implicated, provided the three Directors with an invaluable rallying cry for their campaign against the Constitutionalists. It enabled them to effect the ruin of their associates, Carnot and Barthélemy, with two hundred members of the *Corps Législatif*, proofs of whose complicity in Royalist plots were of the flimsiest description. Barras, as might be expected, played for his own hand, by engaging Hoche to divert towards Paris a body of troops which were marching to Brest with the object of again attempting an invasion of Ireland. Hoche, believing that Barras was acting for his colleagues, as well as for himself, was disgusted to find, when charged by the Directory with having committed a breach of the Constitution, that he had been the tool of an unscrupulous politician,

who threw him over with unblushing cynicism. This was the last public appearance of Hoche, who died soon afterwards, a disillusioned man. By his pacification of the Vendée, he had proved conclusively that he was a statesman; by his military successes, he had justified the claim that he was France's greatest soldier after Bonaparte; and by his incorruptible integrity, he had earned the distinction of dying a poor man, who had unique opportunities of amassing wealth. His rival, Bonaparte, now came upon the political stage, flamboyantly embracing the Revolutionary cause, in support of which he sent Augerau, a bragging popinjay, but a good soldier notwithstanding, to place his unwelcome services at the disposal of the Directors. The results were, the *coup d'état* of the 4th September; the flight of Carnot; the arrest and banishment of Barthélemy, with Pichegru and a multitude of Constitutionalists; the triumph of the three Directors, and especially of Barras, who was temporarily the favourite of the mob; and, looming in the distance, could it have been foreseen, the ultimate destruction of the Republic. Carnot and Barthélemy were replaced on the Directory by two Revolutionists: Merlin, a lawyer, and Neufchâteau, a literary man.

These events had an immediate effect upon the peace negotiations at Lille. Maret was recalled as being too conciliatory, and two new Commissioners, Bonnier and Treilhard, were sent to Lille with fresh instructions. The new men demanded the unconditional surrender of the colonies of France and of

her Allies. Equally unconciliatory was the tone of the demands made upon Austria at Udine. It seemed as though the reconstituted Directory were determined to show France, that the milder trend of French diplomacy in recent years was a mistake; and that a return to Terrorist truculence in international relations was now due. The Directors confidently expected to make a final settlement with Austria, and then turn the whole of the French strength against England. The Paris ultimatum brought the negotiations at Lille to an abrupt close. Malmesbury was sincerely anxious to arrange a peace, and in order to secure that end, he had stretched conciliation to its utmost limit. Success had seemed to be within his grasp; and there can be little doubt that had he been ready to bribe Barras (as Thiers suggests he was), he could have brought the negotiations to a different issue. But all his efforts, he now perceived, had been wasted; and he returned to England, mortified by his failure, and convinced that peace with the Republic was impossible.

That conviction, when shared by the British nation, consolidated its patriotism, and stiffened its resolution to continue the war unflinchingly. It was now realized, probably for the first time by some of the British people, that in existing circumstances, peace was impossible except by acknowledging defeat, and by submitting to the sacrifices involved in that acknowledgment. That, however, was not the British way; and it was certainly not Pitt's way. In the early days of the war, the judgment of

its opponents was warped by their sympathy with the aspirations of the Revolutionists. That sympathy was not confined to the politicians of advanced views, which the Government strove to suppress by force. Some of the "intellectuals"—idealists of generous impulses and liberal aspirations—were carried off their feet by a wave of stronger fervour than ever infected the political reformers. In England, enthusiasts like Wordsworth, Southey, and Coleridge, and in Scotland, cool-headed men like Dugald Stewart and Robertson, felt the compelling spell of the Revolutionary ideals, which affected even the English clergy, notably the Nonconformist ministers. But the douche of disillusionment which so effectively cooled the revolutionary ardour of the Lake trio, was symptomatic of the general reaction, resulting from the grim realism that gradually supervened upon the idealistic dream.

On the question of the war, the City of London was divided into two camps; and that of the pacifists, if not numerically strong, was influential. The Livery and the Common Councillors do not seem to have seen at all times eye-to-eye on the subject. Nor was the Corporation consistent either in its support of, or antagonism towards, the Ministry. MacAulay's diary makes it plain that in 1797 there was a marked vacillation of feeling in the "City." There is an entry in his diary, dated 7th February, which tells us that in consequence of Lord Malmesbury's "haughty dismission from Paris," an address to the King had been presented by the

Corporation, "promising firm support on the continuation of this just and necessary war." But on the 26th March, there is another entry, reporting a meeting of Common Hall, at which an address to the King was agreed upon, praying His Majesty to dismiss his Ministers. Our diarist tells us that in March and April, many meetings were held in the country, having the same object in view, "but of what moment are they," he asks pathetically, "when less than 200 persons return to Parliament a majority of the House." It follows that he had a low opinion of Parliament. "There never was," he says elsewhere, "a race of men so contemptibly servile as the House of Peers. If possible, they are more corrupt than the House of Commons."

Parliament being under the domination of Pitt, and Pitt having failed to bring about a peace, what was now to be done? A change of Ministers could not possibly have as its result an honourable peace. After the return of Malmesbury from Lille, those who retained lingering hopes of peace were in a dilemma. Alderman MacAulay was still a pacifist, but a despairing one. And, as so frequently occurs when political bias acts on judgment, his commonsense was deflected from reaching sound conclusions. Before Malmesbury set out on his second mission, MacAulay stated that his efforts were bound to be fruitless, because the only alternative to civil war in France was "a prolongation of hostility."* That

* Another weighty reason for the Directory preferring war to peace, was the plunder from the conquered countries that provided the financial ship with ballast.

being so, how could a change of Ministers in Britain possibly affect the position in France? Yet we find MacAulay stating, at the end of 1797, that he agreed with those who said the war was being carried on, "to keep nine worthless Ministers in place and power." But he had the honesty to add, "I have my doubt whether any man, or any set of men, could make such a peace as may be called just and fair."

The fact was, that the honest efforts of Pitt to reach an honourable peace having signally failed, through no fault of the Government or its agents, there was only one course open to patriotic men: and that was to give their undivided support to the Government in the renewed prosecution of the war.

Support of a Government by the nation can in no way be secured so effectively as by a splendid victory in the field or on the sea. It acts like champagne on the majority, just as a crushing disaster acts like a medicinal tonic on the minority. Madame D'Arblay quotes (1797) Dr. Burney as having written that "Lady Mary (Duncan) has been for some days past, like the rest of the nation, drunk for joy." What had made the nation drunk for joy in October, 1797? It was Admiral Duncan's victory at Camperdown.

Throughout the summer, Duncan, reinforced after the suppression of the mutiny, had blockaded the Dutch Fleet in the Texel. In September, hearing that the troops had disembarked, he returned to Yarmouth. But early in October, the news reached

him that the Dutch Fleet was coming out. The report proved to be correct. At the earnest solicitation of the Directory, though against his better judgment, Admiral de Winter had projected an attack on the Clyde, with the object of diverting troops from Ireland, and thus assisting the designs of France on that island. Duncan joyfully gave De Winter battle, and after a stiff contest—for the Dutch were always stout fighters on the sea—completely defeated him at Camperdown on 11th October. The Dutch Fleet was thus permanently put out of action, and all the schemes based upon its co-operation with the Brest Fleet were, at one stroke, brought to naught. This was an important result to have achieved, for it added considerably to the security of Great Britain. The superiority of the British Fleet over its rivals was one of the most striking features of the war during the closing days of the 18th century. Duncan, Hood, St. Vincent, Collingwood, and Troubridge formed a quintette of sailors who could not be matched in any other Navy; while as for Nelson, his genius was as supreme on one element as was that of Bonaparte on the other. "Men are nothing; a man is everything," said Napoleon; and the aphorism was peculiarly exemplified by his own career. With no less force did it apply to Nelson. During the period embraced by this review, the genius of the latter was only beginning to be recognized. We find Alderman MacAulay severely criticizing the tactics of the great sailor in his unfortunate attack on Teneriffe,

and saying nothing at all about his share in the victory at St. Vincent. Aboukir, Copenhagen, and above all, Trafalgar had yet to come. Trafalgar laid once for all the spectre of invasion that had so long made the British flesh creep.

The French attempts upon Ireland came to an end in August, 1798, with the failure of the badly organized expedition of General Humbert, who, with 1,099 troops, in three frigates, embarked from Rochefort, and effected a landing in Mayo. At Ballinamuck, some distance inland, he was forced to surrender, on 8th September. No better fortune attended the effort of a larger body of men under General Hardy, who sailed from Brest on 16th September, in ten ships under Commodore Bompard. These troops had been intended to co-operate with Humbert, but were delayed, first, by the lack of funds wherewith to pay arrears of pay due to the soldiers, and next, by the vigilance of the British Fleet, watching outside. When, at length, the ships succeeded in leaving Brest, they were promptly chased by Lord Bridport, who ultimately accounted for seven of the enemy vessels; the remaining three returned home, having accomplished nothing. Bompard was captured, and with him, Wolfe Tone, the stormy petrel of Irish politics. The French had no further opportunities of fishing in the drumlie waters of Irish disaffection: these were clarified by the breakdown of the rebellion in 1798, and the Union of Parliaments in 1801.

The Union of Parliaments was typical of the

growing unity in England and Scotland (before and after Pitt's death), by which national sentiment was ultimately solidified against the menace of Napoleonism. The country was confronted by a danger that it had never been called upon to face while the Republic lasted. Those who had regarded with a lingering sympathy, the efforts of France to emerge, a purified, a free, and a peaceful nation, from the welter of blood and of anarchy that had darkened her life since the dawn of the new era, were now being forced to the conviction that she had but exchanged the pike of internal strife for the sword of international despotism. This realization tended to close up all ranks, and to nerve even the faint-hearted with the courage to resist, and the resolution to endure, until the aggressive militarism that threatened the liberties of Europe should be destroyed. Napoleon, the adventurer of Italian blood, Corsican nationality, and French citizenship, was now a demigod in France, and an ogre to the rest of Europe. Until France had shaken herself free from the spell of his masterful personality, there could be no renewed concord between her and the British nation. Just a hundred years ago, the spell was forcibly broken on the field of Waterloo: and to-day, the Allied nations are fighting side by side (not for the first time), in the sacred cause of freedom. Kaiserism, an infinitely greater danger than Napoleonism to the liberty of nations, is now the common enemy. Already, on a scale unimagined at the bloodiest stage of the Napoleonic wars, it has

drenched Europe in blood. It can only be crushed, as Napoleonism was crushed, by unflinching courage, by steady endurance, by limitless patience, and above all, by national unity.

I have called Alderman MacAulay's diary a "war diary," for it is mainly concerned, directly or indirectly, with war. But there are other entries in the diary of a general character that are not lacking in interest. His account of the Lord Mayor's Day of 1796; the graphic description of a great flood at Bedford in September, 1797; the story of a highway robbery at Barnet, in which the Alderman himself was the victim; and our diarist's reflections on the contemporary stage, are examples of this extraneous matter. His letters to Warren Hastings, which are appended to the diary, though dated 1792 and 1795, display a naively-expressed admiration that might have formed an inviting text for his cousin, when he sat down to write his celebrated essay on the great Administrator.

W. C. MACKENZIE.

OCCURRENCES & OBSERVATIONS:

BY

G. M. MacAulay.

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London, 19*th Oct.* 1796:

Mr. Burke laments in bitter terms the degradation of the Country in sending an ambassador to these Miscreants, these vile Usurpers! these Regicides! and yet with every epithet of abuse 'gainst the Administration of the Country for making the attempt in which Mr. Pitt must, of course, take his share of culpability, he concludes in a flow'ry panegyric on Mr. Pitt, who, he says, is the only man who can rescue us from the impending destruction. Mr. Pitt has an uncommon share of Talents, 'tis true, but if we may form any judgement of what is to be from what has been, he has given us a miserable proof of his abilities as a War Minister. Debt, Taxes, and Disgrace may, in truth, be placed to his acct. Burke, too, has Talents, and perhaps Friends, who will be puzzled perhaps to convince the public of the propriety of his pamphlet at the present moment,* but I think Burke the most mischievous

* The pamphlet in question must have been *Letters on a Regicide Peace*, published in 1796. It was violently declamatory.

Fellow that ever lived, an Enemy of The Country, and the most dangerous of all bad Men, an apostate to all that is Honourable, Virtuous, or Just.

I have no opinion of the Embassy, and I think that Lord M(almesbury) will speed his return without his Embassy, and Mr. Pitt seems to think so too, or he would not so hastily augment the Militia 60,000 Men.

On Wednesday saw Downton in *The Jew*,* admirably performed with *The Triumph of Love*, and *2538*, an incomparable dance, and elegantly arranged. On Thursday, at the same theatre, saw part of *A Bold Stroke for a Wife*, and for the first time revived *Richard Cœur de Lion*,† got up with splendid decorations, and well supported truly by Mrs. Crouch and Kelly.‡

Fri: 28 *Oct*:

The King of Sardinia is dead, and the King of Naples has made peace. The King of Spain has declared War, which well may be expected, and a Spanish squadron has chased Adml. Mason into

* "Downton" may be a slip for Dowton, a comedian who made his first appearance at Drury Lane in 1796. Excellent in representations of testy old age. *The Jew* was a play by Cumberland.

† *Richard Cœur de Lion* was subsequently a favourite play of Kean's.

‡ Mrs. Crouch's maiden name was Miss Phillips. She was first brought into notice by Jackson's music in *The Lord of the Manor*. Kelly was the real founder of the school of sentimental comedy.

Gibraltar. Stocks again have fallen—so flourishing is the situation of the Country—to 56!

On Wednesday an address was presented from the City to the King, thanking his Majesty for the preliminary step taken towards the attainment of peace by sending an Ambassador to negotiate.

Mon: 31 *Oct*:

I never was Fishing at any Time in my Life, but something prevented my catching Fish.

On Tuesday spent the evening at Mr. Gadsby's. Wednesday Mr. Vaux, Mr. Palmer, and Mr. Belsham dined and sup'd with us. Mr. Thud joined us in the evening. Thursday at the Card Assembly. Friday sup'd at Mr. Watkins. Saturday, Fishing at Turvey, in water belonging to Mr. Higgins, with Mr. Hawkins and Mr. Thud, who afterwards dined with us. Caught one Jack.

The King promised in his Speech to send a person possessed of full powers to negociate. It appears that the Ministry has persuaded His Majesty to tell a Falsehood, (not the First), for Lord Malmesbury confesses that he has no power to negociate for our Allies, and he has no power from this Country to negociate for a peace separately. Consequently the King has not fulfilled his promise to Parliament. The Frenchmen treat him with great respect, and have permitted him to remain in Paris till he has obtained powers. From us he may get them, but 'tis hardly probable that the Emperor will entrust the negociation of so much moment to the Empire

to the charge of any person, but a Representative from himself.

Mon: 7 *Nov*:

At 7 left Bedford in the Coach *Solus* to Hitchin, where I breakfasted. Arrived at the X Keys before 4. Proceeded to Bridge Street; dined *Solus* at the York. Walked afterwards to the Boro' and from thence to John's,* where I met the Lord Mayor etc. Eat my oysters, and at 12 walked home.

8 *Nov*:

Dined in the Boro' called in (at) Old Bethlem.† Nobody at home. Walked several times round Finsbury Square. Sup'd at John's, and from thence home at 12.

Alderman Watson sworn in at Guildhall, Lord Mayor of London.

Wed: 9 *Nov*: *Lord Mayor's Day*:

The Lord Mayor etc. took Water at the Three Cranes, and to Westminster, from thence back, landed at the Temple Stairs, (Bridge Street in a state of repair), and in procession to Guildhall.

* John's, the Alderman's favourite resort, was one of the earliest of London's Coffee-houses. It was situated in Fuller's (Fulwoods) Rents, Holborn, nearly opposite the end of Chancery Lane.

† "Old Bethlem," or Bedlam, was the "Priory of the Star of Bethlehem," granted by Henry VIII. to the City of London as a hospital for lunatics. It was situated on the east side of Moorfields. A new building south of Moorfields was erected in 1675. The present Bethlehem Hospital was built in 1812.

Mr. Pitt was much insulted. Fox and Skinner and Combe were applauded, their Horses taken off, and Carriages drawn by the Multitude. The ancient splendour of the City in the Streets seems dwindling to nothing, and in a very few years perhaps will be totally disregarded.* Few of the Aldermen attended, and the Musicians Company only attended, of which Mr. Watson is a member. The dinner was sumptuous and the Company respectable. The Duke of York, Prince Ernst, Foreign Ministers, Lord Chancellor, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox &c. I dined very late at the York, and from thence to Covent Garden Theatre. Saw the last scene of Reynolds's new Comedy,† *Fortune's Fool*, of which I could form no Judgement. Olympus in an Uproar. Very splendid scenery, but in point of merit, not equal to *The Golden Pippin*, on which it is founded. Nan Calley of famous memory, was the Juno of former Times, and never failed of an encore of the celebrated catch, "Push about the Jorum," which in the present representation is omitted.

Leaving the House, I was recognised by my Sister, Mrs. Turnbull, who insisted on taking me home to Broad Street. Day better spent than if I had gone to the Lord Mayor's Feast.

10 *Nov*:

Dined at No. 291 Boro, and sup'd in Old Bethlem.

* How often has this conjecture been falsified since 1796!

† Reynolds was a prolific and successful play-writer. He had a lively style.

Sat: 12 *Nov*:

A vessel from N. York at Glasgow brings acct. of the determination of General George Washington to resign his situation as President of the United States. His Farewell Address is dated the 17th: Septr; in many points most admirably written, but I think upon the whole, rather too long. I dined with Mr. P. at Mr. Benjamin Collett's. While we were at dinner, my friend Mr. James Bell, called to inform me that in course of the day died John Wilkes, Chamberlain of London and Alderman of Farrington Without.

Few men have made in the world more noise. Peace to his Ashes!

Monday: 14*th*: *Nov*:

The report of the Chamberlain's death is premature. He is better and gone to the Country.*

Tuesday: 15 *Nov*:

A proclamation on Ireland states certain Counties in a state of Insurrection. The Storm approaches. Stock fell 1. p.c.

Wed: 16 *Nov*:

I dined in the Boro' and called on Mr. Nutt's in the evening. He is still very sanguine in his expectations of what is called "Good News" from Lord Malmesbury, that is, that the Frenchmen are in the Humour to make peace. Query, would it

* Wilkes died, however, in 1797. In the last stages of his career, he was too sedate for our diarist! Wilkes, in his opinion, had "apostasized" before his death.

not have been more to Mr. Pitt's credit, and to the Honour of the Country, to have acknowledged the Republic and *received* an Ambassador *From France* in 1792, than to have lost the lives of more than 100,000 men, spent 100 millions of Money, and after 4 years of Horrible Warfare, to restore the Old Monarchy, in which we certainly had no right to interfere, to be beat into the necessity of *sending* an Ambassadour *To France*, and to sue for peace at the hands of those very Regicides whom it has been the uniform conduct of The Administration, up, in Fact, to this very moment, to hold up to the world as the veriest Miscreants and Villains that ever cursed Society. Honest Master Bull, after all thy Boast! thy Stomach must digest the pill, however bitter, and peace with these Regicides thou must make, who will neither give thee Indemnification or Security.

Friday 18 *Nov*: 1796:

From Paris letters of the 12th. inclu. On that day, Lord Malmesbury presented his Second Memorial to the Directory, wherein he repeats his Royal Master's disposition to Treat for Himself and Allies on a Grand Basis of Restitution &c. and States, as a proof of his Sincerity, as well as of the Emperor's, a point sufficiently manifested at the Opening of the Campaign. Delacroix, Minister for Foreign (Affairs) is ordered instantly to reply from the Directory, and which he does in a very laconic Note, vizt. That the precise point alluded to, His Majesty's and the

Emperor's pacific disposition for peace *(sic)* at the commencement of the Campaign (is one) of which they (the Directory) are ignorant, for that they (the Emperor and King) *broke the Armistice;* and they likewise desire His Excellency to point out the immediate objects of Restitution, and he shall instantly have an answer.

His Lordship, of course, must send home for further instructions. How are the French to know whether the Emperor has even an inclination to treat, when His Lordship has no authority from him to that effect?

It is not difficult, however, to observe that the French have got an anchor to windward of His Lordship, and that he will soon find it convenient to cut and run. I daresay, notwithstanding Friend Nutt's opinion, that His Lordship will have the opportunity of eating his Xmas dinner in London if he is so disposed.

Tues: *22 Nov*:

Paris papers up to the 19th: now received, but extremely barren of Intelligence, if we except a very interesting correspondence which took place on the 12th. and 13th., between Lord Malmesbury and Chas. de La Croix, the result of which His Lordship sends home by Mr. Ellis, (the confidential friend of L. Malmesbury) private. The FrenchMen display no ambiguity, but at once publish the whole. Mons. de La Croix asks "Whether on each official communication it will be necessary for Lord M. . . .

to send home a Courier to receive fresh instructions? His Lordship asks "Whether he is to consider the Note official?" The Frenchman says "Yes!", and away goes Mr. Ellis.

How is it possible for the Frenchman to know even the disposition of the Emperor towards peace? It appears clearer than daylight, my Lord M. acknowledges, that he has no power, and his Instructions as clearly state that he has no power from us to treat without the Emperor. Where then, or how is it proved, that on our part there is any sincerity in this negociation? I believe there is none.

The Lisbon Mail (states) that the Court of Portugal has given a decisive answer to The Court of Spain that she is resolved at all hazard to adhere to her engagements with Gt. Britain. Of course, Mr. Bull must send her Money and Stores.

Sat. 26.

On Wednesday, Mr. Devayes and Mr. Angerstein had a meeting with the Minister on the subject of the current services of the year. His proposition was a plan of Requisition or a Forced Loan for 20 Millions by Contribution; which they very properly negatived as unprecedented and impracticable.

It is the fashion for Mr. Pitt to decry the Invention of the Republic, and immediately to adopt the very same mode, finding the majority of Both Houses to join with them in abusing, with Vile Epithets, the French System as base, Ruinous, and Oppressive,

and then to support his mode,—the same,—as proper, salutary, and Just. It is impossible, without astonishment, to see that Honest Simpleton, Mr. John Bull, so cruelly gul'd, and so eternally humbug'd. Will the man never open his eyes and come to his senses?

Sun: 27 *Novr*:

The debt contracted in the four years of the present Ruinous and destructive War, amounts to £101,504,044, ann. Int. £3,740,360. At the end of 1788, the National Debt amounted to £257,502,485. Int. £9,170,363. Exclusive of what has accrued in 1796, it amounts now to £360,228,020, and the Interest to £13,005,518.

Thurs: 1 *Decr*:

Much has been said on the subject (the Loan), previous to this Time, and the point (is) very difficult to be solved. How the devil cou'd this said Mr. Pitt raise 20 Mill: of Money without Burthens on the people, or a Bonus to the subscribers, which has roundly been asserted would be the case, thro' the channel of all the Ministerial prints, and in every circle of Ministerial Influence? A contributory Loan upon disinterested patriotic principles! Tho' the credulous swallowed the Humbug, it now appears, if the Minister ever was weak enough to dream of such a mode, that the Idea is vanished, and the Mode now proposed and adopted is neither more or less than an Open Loan, or Funded Security, with a Bonus to the Subscribers of 9½ p.c. Upon this plan, upwards of 8 Millions

were immediately subscribed, and large sums doubtless by many who are not of themselves equal to make the first payment!

This is a measure (with) which those prostituted prints (that) ever endeavour to cheat and deceive the people, state to be a "masterpiece in Finance, at once a proof of the dis(in)terested patriotic spirit, energy, and wealth of the nation, and must have the strongest effect upon the enemy." Is it not distressing to see the country thus insulted and cheated? Where, in the name of God, is the disinterested patriotism of a man to subscribe £50,000 to a Loan, by which he gets unequivocally 9½ p.c. for his money, with a chance of full 9½ p.c. more, if peace is the consequence of the present negociation, when he could not possibly get (legally) more than 5 p.c. in any other manner? The Mode is popular, but undeniably a private Loan, where competition was admitted, would (have) been infinitely more advantageous to the public. Oh Johnny Bull, what an eternal Jack-ass thou art!

Fri: *2nd*: *Decr*:

A dispatch has reached the India House overland from Madras, dated 22nd: June, advising the reduction of Amboyna and Banda on the 16th: Febr and 8 March by the English under Admiral Raimer. In Amboyna they found 81,112 Rs, and 515,940 lb. Mace, a tolerable Booty. The Dutch Men have now lost all they possessed in India except Batavia. I conceive Holland to be a Ruined Country, and

that the *Ci-devant* Stadt-holder must subsist on Charity as long as he lives.

4th: *Decr*:

This is a most curious dilemma to which His Lordship (Malmesbury) is reduced truly, when he possesses no kind of authority from the Emperor to treat, even upon any terms, and cannot possibly offer any terms without (reference). If Mr. Pitt had the intention to insult the Directory, and delude his own Country, he has effectively done it, and yet the H. of Commons will support the Idea that he has been sincere in the negociations, and made use of his best endeavours to make peace. Why, it is a barefaced Lye upon the face of it. The King in his Speech acknowledges the Form of the Fr. Government—The Republic—and promises the Parliament that he will immediately send over a person with full powers to treat for himself and Allies, and yet Lord M.— has been 6/w in Paris, with no authority whatever from the Emperor, nor has it been in any manner officially communicated to the Directory that he manifests the smallest inclination towards peace.

The Prince of Wales has been to Bath, and received the Freedom of the City from the Corporation, presented in a most fulsome panegyric on his Royal Highness's virtues, in a speech from Mr. Palmer—the Mayor—which must nauseate the Prince if he has sensibility left—and disgust the nation, when it is notorious that there is not a man of Honour in the Country who does not reprobate his conduct,

and say that he is a disgrace to his Rank. I am, for one, ashamed of such adulatory compliments.

Yesterday upwards of 17 millions were subscribed.

Spent a long dreary evening at the York, dined *solus*, and had no one to converse with. Without pen, ink or paper, Books, or Society, I believe that I should very soon wither in the midst of plenty.

5 *Decr*:

Loan completed today with £18,001,000.

6 *Decr*:

The Letters from Buonaparte and Alexander Berthier to the Directory are published in this day's papers. The conflict continued with little or no intermission for 3 days, at, in, or near Arcoli, which will be recorded famous in History from the event. The Battle was fought with enthusiastic Bravery on both sides, but at length, on the 17th: of November, the Austrians under General Alvinzi gave way. The Victory, though dearly purchased, was compleat in favour of the Republicans. The loss of the Imperialists is stated at 4,000 killed, and 10,000 wounded and prisoners, with 4 Standards and 18 pieces of Cannon.

Buonaparte manifested all the points of a great Military character; he was everywhere in the Battle. He fought on Horseback and on Foot. And at one time when his troops were giving way, called out: "If ye are the Men who obtained the Battle of Lodi, Follow me," rushing on at their Head amid a torrent of Fire, gave a turn to the

Fortune of the Day, and added to his Arms new wreaths of Glory and Honour.

He was well seconded by Augereau and Massena, but of other General Officers, fell 2 killed and 5 wounded. Their loss must have been considerable, tho' tis never mentioned. It was intended the next day to attack Genl. Davidovitch, which must decide the Fall of Mantua, and the Fate of Italy. Buonaparte says it will fall in a fortnight. Mr. Nutt says Never! After all, does it not sicken the Heart to think of so much Blood; the Fall of so many thousands of the Human Race, leaving behind them so many more thousands of their unfortunate wives and children—fighting in a Cause of which they know nothing, and in which they have no Interest. Merciful God! how horrible is War! and Woe be to the Kings, potentates, and ministers who are the authors of War without in the first place trying every effort to prevent it.*

This War might have been prevented by acknowledging The Republic, and Receiving an Ambassador, instead of Fighting 4 years, and now acknowledging The Republic by sending an Ambassador to sue for peace.

Went to Drury Lane, and saw Miss Farren† in

* We, at the present day, can say "Amen" to that.

† Elizabeth Farren was celebrated in parts like that of Lady Teazle. Walpole said of her that she was the most perfect actress he had ever seen. On 8th April, 1797 (as our diarist relates), she took leave of the stage to become Countess of Derby.

the first night of *The Force of Ridicule*. Never saw so puerile, so ridiculous, so stupid, so un-interesting a performance, devoid of every point that ought to constitute a Comedy.

Richard Coeur de Lion was the after-piece.

Francis Dann and Will Arnold were yesterday executed for Murder. They were the first Malefactors conveyed to the new Surgeon's Hall in Lincoln's Inn Fields. They were conveyed in a cart, their Heads supported by Tea-Chests for the public to see—I think contrary to all decency and the Laws of Humanity in a Country like this; I hope it will not be repeated.

At a Court of Com. Council yesterday, £100,000 was agreed to be subscribed to the Loan, but where the money is to come from, the Lord knows.

7 *Dec*r:

James Dyer was this morning executed for Forgery.

On Sunday, several persons lost their lives on the Serpentine River, and in St. Jas. Park. I believe there are more Fools in this Town than in any place on Earth.

Yesterday Mr. Pitt opened the Budget. The Estimates for the year amount to £27,647,000, The Ways and Means £27,945,000, and The New Taxes £2,132,000. Among the items of the last year's expenditure, it appears that Mr. Pitt has sent over to the Emperor £1,200,000 without the consent of Parliament, for which Mr. Grey has pledged himself to move an Impeachment, in which noble and very

proper endeavour every Honest Man in the Country will heartily wish him success, but every Man in the Country knows that there is not Virtue enough in the House of Commons even to support their own Honour, their own Dignity and consequence. A servile corrupt Body. It is one of those Crimes that in Times of less degeneracy would rouse The People at large to a sense of duty, but *Tempora Mutantur nos et Mutamur in illis.* It is one of those daring attacks on The Constitution which nothing can justify, and nothing ought to palliate but Punishment and Dismission, for the greater part of the sum has been remitted during the sitting, both of the last Parliament and the present, and no communication of the circumstance made known till yesterday.

10 *Decr*:

A very fine dinner given to Mr. Alderman Curtis, the late Lord Mayor, at the London,* by the united Clubs of The Johns and The Rustics (of both of which I am a member), as a compliment to his Merit during his High Office, but I preferred a more domestic dinner with Mr. Parkinson in the Boro'. About 8 I sauntered westward and saw at Drury *The Shipwreck*, for the first Time. The music by Dr. Arnold† is very pretty, which saved it from

* The London Tavern was on the west side of Bishopgate Street Within. A favourite place for public meetings and dinners.

† Samuel Arnold (1740-1802), successively organist at the Chapel Royal and Westminster Cathedral.

condemnation, for the piece itself has little to recommend it on any other ground.

The Shipwreck was favourably received.

11 *Decr*:

From thence to White Conduit House,* and Bagnige Wells,† places which I often frequented in former days, but the alterations in and about the places make them altogether a new world.

15 *Decr*:

Spent an hour with Mr. Livesey in the evening at picquet.

16 *Decr*:

Fox's motion against Pitt for sending money to the Emperor and the Prince of Conde, without the consent of Parlt: "has been guilty of a breach of trust and grossly violated the privileges of that House."

My friend, Mr. Alderman Combe, had the honour to second Mr. Fox's endeavour, and a more important debate I do not recollect. An amendment by Mr.

* White Conduit House in Pentonville and its tea-gardens were much frequented by City people. The place became the headquarters of cricket in the second half of the eighteenth century.

† Bagnigge Wells, opened in 1759, had a great vogue in our diarist's time. The pump-room is said to have been formerly Nell Gwynn's dining-room in Bagnigge House. The tea-gardens were a favourite and not too reputable resort of City folk. The site was in Gray's Inn Road, a little to the north of Clerkenwell Police-Court.

Bragge, justifying the measure, but deprecating its being construed into a precedent, carried by a majority of 204, but in the minority Mr. Pitt had the mortification to see the name of Sir William Pulteney and others, who, in general, have approved of his conduct.

A Common Hall held in London to support the Motion, and then agreed to, but the Alderman on the ground that this could not be the sense of their constituents, (from the number in the Hall), voted for Bragge's Amendment. 12 mos. previously I heard Curtis, then Ld. Mayor, acknowledge that a majority of the Hall had a right to instruct,—it was his duty to obey. This he told me at the Mansion Ho. In consequence, a Meeting of that description was held, and he was instructed accordingly—but something or other between Guildhall and the House overpowered his duty, and at that time, too, he decided 'gainst his Instructions. Such, however, is the degraded State of Representation, and such the rooted Corruption of the Commons, that I for one, have no Confidence in them, nor do I hold it much of an Honour to be a Member, and such is the servility of the whole Country, from one end of it to the other, that it is now no credit to be an Englishman!

20 *Decr: Lord Mal: Embassy*:

The only object of his Embassy in my opinion is to give Mr. Pitt the more effectually, opportunity of imposing on the Credulity of the People.

22 *Decr*:

A Commee: of the Ho. of Com: pronounced George Tierney duly elected Member for the Borough of Southwark.

24 *Decr*:

Papers this morning announce positively the failure of Lord Malmesbury's mission; that he has been ordered to quit Paris in 48 hours, and expected daily in London. Stocks fell 3%, and may now be stated @ 55.

Decr: 25:

Xmas day, and perhaps the coldest ever remembered in the Country. The thermometer is stated to have fallen to 28½ degrees below freezing.

29 *Decr*:

Left Bedford at 10.30., arrived at Bridge St. @ 9. Supped at John's. New Loan 4 to 5 % discount.—a blessed prospect for the subscribers.

31 *Decr*:

Mild and warm. I suppose 40 or even 50 degrees difference in the atmosphere between this & Sunday.

A vehement debate in the House last night. Mr. Pitt for 3 hours moved an address, to which an amendment by Mr. Fox, which was negatived, of course, at ½ past 2. For: 37, against: 212.

The King says that he never can make peace while Belgium remains in the hands of the French, and the French say that they never will give it up, and this is the *sine qua non*, so that it appears now we

are fairly at issue, and the War must be continued *ad Internecionem*. Lord M. arrived with his suite at 4 o'clock on Thursday without clamour or any importunity to stay, notwithstanding the opinion of Mr. Nutt.

1797:

Janr:

An express arrived this day at the Duke of Portland's office from Ireland stating that 8 sail of the French line, part of the fleet which sailed from Brest on the 17th: ulto: which we supposed destined against Portugal, had anchored on the 24th in Bantry Bay, with hostile intention against that Country. A Lieut. and 7 men had been driven on shore from whom some few particulars were learnt, and among others that the *Seduisant*, a 74 Gun Ship, was lost on the Saesits(?), and not more than 60 out of 1,200 prisoners were saved. Steps were taken by the Lord-Lieutenant (Earl Camden), to repel the invasion, in which the people joined with zeal and alacrity. An account arrived also from the Mediterranean, that the *Courageux*, of 74 guns, was totally lost on Cabrika Point, and only 5 persons saved, and intelligence was likewise received that the *Bombay Castle*, of 74 guns, also was lost on Lisbon Bar; the crew and some of the stores were saved.

Admiral Jervis, and his Squadron, were arrived in the Tagus.

Dined at the Percy Street Coffee-House.*

Eat oysters at the Coffee-House in Mitre Court, Fleet Street.†

Jan: 2:

Waring, who seemed very well acquainted with the people of the No. of Ireland, said that if the French cou'd land at Loughswilly (as was reported) they would be joined cordially by 99 out of 100 out the Counties of Down, Antrim, and Derry.

Jan: 3:

From Ireland, advice that the French fleet had left Bantry Bay on the 27th—4 o'clock p.m. in a very heavy gale of wind E.S.E., and Reports as usual that some were lost and all of them in miserable bad plight and condition. I have no doubt if any of them shou'd fall into our clutches that they will be found quite the reverse.

Jan: 5:

We certainly may get advantages from accidental circumstances, but no thanks to the vigilance of Administration,—indeed 'tis only a continuation of the same scandalous negligence that has been their conduct during the whole war.‡ I forgot in the proper place to record the death of the Great Cath^e.

* This Coffee-House was in Rathbone Place, Oxford Street.

† Not Dr. Johnson's *Mitre*, which was in Fleet Street. The Mitre Tavern in Mitre Court was formerly known as Joe's Coffee-House.

‡ This language has a familiar sound at the present day.

of the North—the Empress of all the Russias, who died on the 17th. Novr last.—after all her ambitious views, her wickedness, and her Tyranny. She died in her 68th. year, having reigned 34 after the murder of her husband.

Jan: 7:

The papers say that a Mr. MacArtney from Ireland, brings advice that a French frigate and a corvette are captured by Lord Beauclerk in the *Diomede*, and that 5 other large French ships have appeared in Bantry Bay—but that it is still uncertain what is become of the bulk of the Squadron, or what was the real object of their destination.

Jan: 9:

At Coleman Street. Held the Ward-Mote in the Vestry Room of St. Stephen's Church. Home to No. 2. Bridge Street.

Jan: 10:

3%s at 55, & the Loan (New Loyalty) 6% discount.

Jan: 12:

Yesterday an address from the City was presented to the King, when William Herne, an obscure Attorney in Pater Noster Row, and late elected Alderman of Castle Baynard in the room of Dr. John Hopkins, was weak enough to follow the example of his predecessor and returned home a Knight. If there is a contemptible Title on Earth it is this sort of Knighthood.

We dined at our apartment *solus cum sola*.

Jan: 16:

The States of the Circle of Swabia have refused a separate negot^{n}: with the Republicans. Paris papers of 13th: also recd: filled with doubts and conjectures as to the fate of the Irish Expedition. They acknowledge that it has failed, and are now only anxious for the safety of their ships and men—many of whom they will expect in vain—but a very considerable portion are returned safe beyond all possible doubt, notwithstanding the bold and peremptory opinion of my friend Callendar the other day of the Impossibility of the measure.

The fact appears, by the French account, that 42 originally sailed—17 of the line, 13 frigates, and the rest Cutters and Transports, with about 25,000 men. 36 anchored in Bantry Bay. General Hoche, who was the Commander-in-Chief, and the rest of the Commanding Officers, were on board the *Fraternité*, wh. it is said, never reached the Coast. The weather was tempestuous, and in a Gale of wind, they were again driven to Sea *en masse*, after being there six days, tho' others had appeared again on the 4 or 5 inst:, but finally quitted the Coast on the 6th: inst.

One division under Admiral Bouvet actually arrived again at Brest on the 1 Janr; which was the first day we heard of their being on the Coast—and the first mom^{t}. I believe, that the Minister believed one word about the matter, tho' the project was stated by the French themselves many weeks ago. Yet we said It was Impossible, and therefore took no pains to prevent it. Bouvet with 6 Sail of the

Line, 4 Frigates, and two Corvettes, arrived on the 1st: inst. 17 other vessels appeared on the 2nd., so that notwithstanding the boasted vigilance of our Administration, and the sanguine expectation of the public from the known Naval abilities of Lord Bridport, the Expedition from France had sailed from Brest 16 days, the attempt had proved unsuccessful, and the Bulk of the Squadron had actually got back into port before our Fleet put to sea. It must be recorded that the French Fleet put to Sea on the 16 and 17 ulto. and Lord Bridport on the 3rd. inst. so that if Providence had not interfered, no man can divine what the consequences might have been. The Frenchmen might have had fine weather —a westerly wind when out 2 or 3 days might have answered all their purpose—and unless repel'd by the Irish themselves, Ireland might have been conquered, and our Fleet at Spithead without the possibility of rendering the least assistance whatever. I am thus particular merely to convince the Fools and Blockheads of this Country that it is not necessary for the French to beat our Fleet before the Invasion of Gr. Britain or Ireland is practicable. If we had 1,000 sail of the Line, wind and Contingent circumstances would effect it.'

Eat oysters at the York.

Jan: 17:

Considerable Fires have happened in New York, Boston, and Savannah, imputed to the Villainy of the French Emigrants. Whether so or not, it is

impossible to say, but there is nothing so atrocious and diabolical of which a Frenchman in my opinion, is not capable, and therefore tho' many unfortunate and worthy people may suffer, yet if I had the rule of the Roast, not one single French person should be permitted to remain in this Country.*

By letters from Major-General Graham, peace and tranquillity are restored to Granada and St. Vincent's. The Brigands, 725 Men, and Charibs to the number of 4,623, including Women and Children, surrendered.

Passed an hour at John's.

Jan: 18:

In the evening I sauntered to John's, where Mr. Alderman Curtis soon joined us. He had dined very pleasantly, he said, at Mr. Pitts in Downing Street, with a party of ab^{o}: 20. An admirable good dinner and good wine and plenty of it. I had no doubt of it, and the worthy Alderman, I am sure, had had his proportion of it.† One circumstance he stated, he said, from the "highest authority," namely, the return of one division of the French fleet and *no more*, prior to the 6th. There is certainly no contradicting what is so positively and so peremptorily said from such a source, but Time will show whether the Statement is altogether correct. The inference is that Lord Bridport may still fall in with the remainder. An account was this day received,

* Substituting for "French," the word "German," one hears precisely the same sentiment to-day.

† Curtis was a noted gourmand.

and credited generally (It came from Cork, via Milford), that a 74 had been sent into Kinsale, and that the *Majestic* had sunk another with 400 Troops. It was then reported that Lord B. had fallen in with the Bulk of them, and had made Hash-meat of them. The Account, false or true, certainly was communicated to Lloyd's via Milford. Mr. Pitt said at dinner that so many reports were circulated that it was difficult to know what was true with° official information, and he gave no credit whatever with the account when it was coupled with the name of Lord Bridport, because they had received subsequent accounts from him than the date when this supposed capture was made, and he had not seen the enemy; but when the *Majestic* was named he listened to the Report, and thought perhaps that it may prove true, for the *Majestic* was not belonging to the Squadron of Lord B. . but sent out as a single ship, and the Irish cou'd hardly have blundered on the name if she had not been actually on the Coast, whether she was destined. So far, the report was probable. It appears, however, strange, when the Expedition has absolutely failed, that the Frenchmen should remain to be captured, instead of endeavouring to get home, for that must inevitably be the case if they keep the Sea.

Jan: 19:

Reports of the day various as to the French Fleet. The Facts, I believe, are in a small compass. The *Druid* has taken a large Transport, full of Troops

and Stores, and the *Unicorn* another called *La Ville de L'Orient*, with 450 Hussars, and both carried into Kinsale. Lord Bridport seems out of luck. I hope no accident has befallen him. The *Druid* and the *Unicorn* belong to Adml. Kingsmill's division, who have been alert. The *Hussar*, Frigate, is lost on the Coast of France. Officers and men saved.

Jan: 20:

Advices were received at the Admiralty from Sr. Edwd. Pellew dated on Tuesday.

On the 13th: in company with the *Amazon*, (and Sr. Edwd. on the *Indefatigable*), Capt' Reynolds fell in with a French 74 going into Brest. With difficulty cut off her retreat, and brought her to action at 5. p.m. which continued with determined obstinacy till 5 in the morning, when the Frigates were compel'd to leave her—then on her broadside on the Rocks, w(h)ere tis said she will in all probability leave her Bones. The *Amazon* was roundly received and roughly handled. Some doubts even are entertained of her safety.

Paris Gazettes of the 17th: are received, where they remain still in consternation about their Fleet. *Le Pegase*, *Le Pluton* of the Line, and *Resolve*, Frigate, with Admiral Neilly, got into Brest on the 11th, the latter dismasted. No certain account of *La Fraternitè*. Lost or captured, tis reported, the latter not probable, or we must have heard of the event.

'Tis extraordinary we hear nothing from Lord

Bridport. A proclamation has been issued, signed "Cherin," lamenting the Fate of this expedition in consequence of the Weather, but adding that tho' frustrated that they will soon be led on again to Honor and to Glory.

"The path of Glory leads but to the Grave," which these Lads will find out if they make a second Trip to Ireland. I should, however, not be surprized at the attempt.

Jan: 20:

Reports say also that the Fort Kehl,* reduced to a heap of ashes, was to be surrendered on the 10th. inst., to the Austrians by Capitulation.

Jan: 21:

The *Sun* of this evening gives a long letter from Greenock, with particulars so fully stated that one wou'd be apt almost to give credit to it, but the *Sun* is so miserable a paper—so totally misinformed of what really is going on, and so notorious for its Falsehoods, that tho. it may occasionally tell the truth, yet for one I never believe it. The Story is simply that the *Berwick* of 74, with 2 Transports full of Troops, part of the French Squadron, have been driven to the Northward, and wrecked on some Rocks in the Mull of Kyntire on the Coast of Argylesh: in the West of Scotland. About 400 men only are saved and conducted to prison, and that Hamilton Rowan is among them, recognized and put in Irons. It may be so. I cannot deny it;

* On the Rhine.

but coming thro' so suspicious a medium as the *Sun*, I have my doubts.

What Lord Bridport has done with His Majesty's Ships, from whom so much was expected, no one can tell. The public have not been favour^{d}. with a Line respecting him since he sailed on the 3rd. inst.

Went for an hour to John's; returned to eat oysters.

Sunday: 22 *Jan*:

Parkinson called abt. 1. Went for stretch to the Westward abt. Portland Place, Cumberland Place, and the adjacent Squares. Many smart women were on the (illegible) in many places, and very smart carriages were everywhere. London is a fine place! I was almost tired!

Mon: 23 *Jan*:

Went to Covent Garden to see a new esteemed fashionable Comedy from the pen of Mr. Morton,* *Cure for the Heart Ache.* If I did not know to what a miserable ebb The Drama is reduced, I should have been surprized to see so many people sit so long and patiently to hear such Stuff!—A collection of Trash just calculated to hit the depraved state of the Times. Coming from Bedford some weeks ago with Mr. Maddox, the Brewer, and speaking of Beer he said, "As long as you continue

* Morton was a friend of Reynolds, than whom he was a more careful writer. His *Cure for the Heart Ache*, in spite of the Alderman's strictures, abounds in meritorious character-drawing.

to drink the Liquor which we give you for Beer, we shall never brew you better." And so I fear it is with the drama. As long as the Town can listen to, and laugh at, such stuff as *The Cure &c* there is very little chance for the revival of chaste and ancient Comedy. *The Jealous Wife—Clandestine Marriage* —both by the elder Coleman,* and *The School for Scandal*, *The Rivals*, both by Sheridan,† are the only plays that I recollect to have escaped oblivion since I first attended the Theatre, which is now 30 years. Harlequin and Oberon was the pantomimical Farce, in which was introduced the Fantochini ‡ or dancing Figures, which was the only part of our amusement that I thought worth attention, for even the pantomime was poor. We eat Oysters in Mitre Court, and spent an hour afterwards at the Globe.§

24 *Jan*:

The report in the *Sun* of Saturday, of the loss of the *Berwick* &c, proved, as I suspected it would, a Falsehood.

* Garrick produced these Colman plays at Drury Lane; he sustained the principal part in *The Jealous Wife*. Colman became manager, first of Covent Garden Theatre, and afterwards of the Little Theatre in the Haymarket. The younger Colman, a play-writer and a wit like his father, was manager of the Haymarket.

† Sheridan's masterpiece was first produced in May 1777 at Drury Lane. *The Rivals* was first produced in January, 1775, at Covent Garden.

‡ Fantoccini were marionette shows.

§ The Globe Tavern was in Fleet Street. Redolent of memories of Goldsmith.

Lord Bridport was cruizing on the 18th., between Ushant and Scilly, and had caught nothing. And how should he, cruizing there? One would suppose that he was desirous that the Frenchmen shou'd get home and refit, that he might have the pleasure to fight them "handsomely" at some future period.

25 *Jan*:

No news in Paris papers of 21st: except the arrival of *La Fraternité* at Rochfort on the 15th. with Monsr. de Galles and General Hoche, Commanders of the Expedition 'gainst Ireland, but it does not appear that he ever made the Coast.

The *Redoubtable*, 74, came in with her, making altogether, if dependance can be made on French accts., 11 Sail of Line, and 7 Frigates. It is scarcely credible truly. I do not know where the blame attaches, or who is culpable—but with such a Fleet as we now have afloat, that the French shou'd send Squadrons from port to port without molestation, does appear to me most marvellous.

Accounts are received from India of a very unpleast. nature, said to be a serious misunderstanding between the King's Troops, and the Troops of the Company.* For my own part, I cannot see the Justice in permitting any such difference to remain. Soldiers in the same Country, serving the same Master, and fighting in the same cause—why should they not, in every possible respect, be placed on the same Footing? The differences, however,

* The East India Company.

are of such a nature that the Minister has again requested the Marquis of Cornwallis to accept the situation of Governor-General of Bengal, to which he has acceded, and is now preparing to embark for India with all expedition. Lord Macartney is gone to Portsmouth to embark for the Cape. Nothing further from Lord Bridport.

27 Jan:

By an American from Brest—the rest of the French fleet are got back, and now Lord Bridport, having done the Business, may come back again. The *Amazon* is lost near the spot where the *Droit des Hommes* was on shore. It is stated that the officers and crews of both vessels are saved, and the French are in hopes that they shall be able to get off both ships.

The *Curlew* of 18 guns, built of Fir, commanded by Lieut. Field, and having 110 men on board, foundered in the No. Sea, and all perished—a warning, I trust, to build no more M.-of-War with such flimsy Material.*

30 Jan:

One hundred and fortynine years ago this very day, Charles the First, King of England, lost his Head for endeavouring to usurp the Rights of the People. Within our own memory, and only 4 years ago, Louis the 16 of France lost his Head from a cause very nearly similar, and all his Family involved

* A curious comment, this, by a man who knew what he was writing about.

in his Fate! May all the Crowned Heads in Europe learn wisdom and profit by their example.*

1797:

Feb: 3:

Govt: have no official accounts of the battles before Mantua. How the devil should they, unless they cou'd receive them in Balloons? 60 pces. of Cannon and 24 Standards captured.

Such is the wonderful success ascribed to the Goodfortune and Talents of this prodigy of Man-in-Arms, Buonaparte—whose Fame stands recorded infinitely beyond what we read of either in ancient or modern Times. The Alexanders and the Cæsars of whom we have read, the Auringzebes and the Great Zingis of the East, shrink into nothing when compared to the mighty achievements of this Young Warrior. This conquest, in my opinion, decides the Fate of Mantua, and the possessions of the Emperor in Italy. Probably, in the event, it may procure for them a separate peace, notwithstanding the repeated and constant declaration of Mr. Bull and his associates that as he—Mr. Bull—will not treat without the Emperor, the Emperor will not treat without Mr. Bull. Time will show.

Feb: 4:

Several vessels from Cork &c., captured off Beachy, with provisions, by the scandalous neglect of the Admiralty in permitting such vessels to proceed from

* The Alderman's Republicanism crops out in this sentence.

Spithead without convoy. The provision merchants have ran great Risques during this war. On this occasion they were panic-struck, and large sums were insured at 30, 35, 50, and even 60 gs. %.*

Sunday 5 *Feb*:

Walked to Clapham and dined with Mr. Samuel Waddington, who at the last General Election stood on the popular ground a Candidate to represent St. Alban's and the County of Hertford, but was defeated in both.

I met Mr. Deputy Sadler, a Mr. Metcalfe, Mr. Dan, and a Mr. Ray or Jay. I was told I shou'd meet violent democratical Men, but I found no such thing,—they professed themselves adverse to the present principles of Administration and not slaves to the doctrines of Mr. Pitt, and his Associates. We drank the King's Health, and the Constitution of 1688,†—at present no crime, tho' very different from the Constitution of 1795. Mr. W's name is known to the public. A little quizzical in his manner, and eccentric in his deportment, but I thought him a sensible well-informed man. He certainly received me, tho' before unacquainted, with great Friendship and Hospitality, and at 9 o'clock, when our party broke up, his Carriage was at the door, and conveyed me to Town, accompanied by the Deputy.

* The rates of premium were certainly "panicky." In the following year (1798) the Convoys Act was passed.

† It is remarkable how frequently the "Constitution of 1688" was toasted during Pitt's Administration.

Mon: 6 *Feb*:

The Report of yesterday is no longer to be concealed. On Friday night, Henry French Chiswell Muilman Esqr. shot himself at his Seat in Essex.

The desperate deed has caused a very great alarm in the Merchantile world, for his connections were most important, and before this Fatal War he was ranked among the First Merchants in Europe, and few there were more opulent in point of Fortune. Speculations of great magnitude, which have embarrassed his Circumstances, which have been carried on under the conduct of his Junior partner, is supposed to be one cause, but many must be materially implicated in his Fall.

Many of the Cork Vessels, supposed to be captur'd, passed Gravesend, leaving in the hands of the enemy 4 from Cork, 2 from Waterford, and a rich Belfaster.

My friend Callander and I can never agree, tho' we are always good Friends. He is a tooth-and-nail, or as Alderman Le Mesurier would say, a thick-and-thin Man, so devoted to Messrs. Pitt & Co. that there is no arguing with him on any principles of Reason; so blind to the slavish doctrines propagated with so much industry and Zeal by the Tools of Government, that he wages eternal War against Truth & Conviction.

7 *Feb*:

(A birthday dinner).

We had the scull of a very fine Cod, excellent cold Roast Beef, Roasted Leg Mutton, and a pudding for dinner.

8 *Feb*:

Address to the King by the Corporation:

The Subject was to thank His Majesty for his sincere endeavour to make peace, and in consequence of Lord Malmesbury's haughty dismission from Paris, to promise His Majesty a Firm Support on the continuation of this *Just and necessary War*. No Member was weak enough to return a more distinguished Fool than when he left home.

10 *Feb*:

The papers state that the P. of Wales, to appease the discontented in Ireland, has offered to accept the Office of Lord-Lieutenant.

What magic is there in the person or Conduct of His Royal Highness to effect such a change? Infinitely more likely to increase their difficulty by his Folly and extravagance. A mere attempt to obtain a little popularity by the offer, but the Minister is not a Fool to be gull'd by an artifice so shallow. God knows that the Government of the Country is most infamously conducted at present by those who have the charge of it, but no one in his senses surely can wish to see any part of its Administration in the hands of so worthless a prodigal as the Pr. of Wales. May the King live long to reign over us!

Feb: 15:

Mr. Pitt wants more money, which, believe it or not, I daresay is the case, and if the Credulity of the Country will allow it, no doubt but that what they give so liberally, he will dispose of honestly.

Feb: 16:

Paris papers of the 12th: officially announce the fall of Mantua, and a complete defeat of the Troops of *The Holy Father* on Papal ground. Buonaparte is at Boulogne, but a detached part of the Army is gone on to Rome.

Genl. Kellerman passed the Alps to secure their conquest and compel the Emperor to peace. That he will be compel'd to it I have no doubt, and that Mr. Bull will have to terminate the War by a Single-handed Contest with the Republic.

Mr. Pitt is this day to announce the want of 7 millions for England, 3 for Ireland. The last Loyalty Loan @ $8\frac{3}{4}\%$ discount, and the 3%'s at 53!

A Meeting of the Whig Club yesterday, and numerously attended.

Mr. Erskine was thanked for his recent publication "The Nature & progress of the War," &c., and Mr. Fox it was generally said, was the only Man to whom the people could look up with confidence to *Save the Country*. There was a time when a Reformation was all that was wanted and by the people expected, but now I believe that Reformation will not do. The Evil is too rooted, and the Corruption of the State too manifest for Mr. Fox or any other Man to work the cause of Salvation. Mr. Fox and his friends, by being in Office, may for a time appease the growing discontent of the Multitude, but the people can only be *Reformed* by *Themselves*. Even if it were the Case, he never can have the opportunity of the experiment while

Mr. Pitt lives, for Mr. Pitt has as much vanity and ambition as Mr. Fox, and I daresay supported as he is by the Parliament *within* doors, and by the Bills which prevent the Mutiny of others *without* doors, that he never will (relinquish) his place but with his Life, and the Fury of the people hurl to destruction all those in one indiscriminate Mass who oppose their Wishes to state fairly, according to the Constitution of 1688, their grievances and complaints at the Foot of the Throne—and may the King listen before 'tis too late to the *Voice of Truth and Justice*.

Some Men-of-War are sailed from Portsmouth to Plymouth, and others from Plymouth are sailed for Portsmouth, which seems the chief employ of our Navy, whilst the Channel swarms with little miserable privateers, which incessantly annoy our Trade.

The *Tamer* and the *Tartar* sailed the other day with abt: 60 Merchant Men for the W. Indies. Our M'men are protected rather by good luck than by Men-of-War.

Feb 18:

The idea of Invasion in Lond^{n}. gains ground, and what wd. have been thought Madness and Impossible 2 years ago is now thought not altogether impracticable or improbable. A letter from the D. of Portl^{d}. to the Lord-Lieutenants strengthens the Idea. But the Folly and the imbecility of His Grace and his coadjutors certainly must be the Chief ground of Hope for the Enemy, and whilst the Reins of Government remain in such hands, and

the people stript in the Manner they have been—both of Money and their Liberty—no man can say that this Hope is chimerical. But the Idea of Retrospect or Justice to the Nation from the House of Commons is ridiculous. Corrupted in every avenue what have the people to expect? or from whom? or from whence must Reformation come but from Themselves? The effort of Mr. Fox and his Associates to prevent the Fall of the Country will not, cannot be successful. Secede—Secede—with a nervous appeal to the people is all the good they can do, and that would do more to rouse them to a sense of duty and their situation, than all the debates of a Session! Give Rope enough!

Monday 27 Feb:

The Commercial World this morning were alarmed by the appearance in the papers of an Order of Council addressed to the Bank of England, and the Measure adopted by the pliant Directors to pay no more money for the Notes; and thus the tremendous Blow is struck which must inevitably strike deep into the Vitals of the Credit of the Country—an Illegal Order of Council for the Bank of England to suspend all payments in Cash. A Meeting of Merchants and Bankers was immediately convened by the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House, who Resolved to support the said measure themselves, and use their influence with others "not to refuse" taking Bank Notes. It would have been stronger, a good deal, if they had Resolved cordially to *take*,

instead of not refusing, but in Meetings of this Sort few people think.

Stocks advanced $1\frac{1}{2}\%$—one can scarcely say why! No public news whatever.

Tues: 28 *Feb*:

I dined with Colonel Campbell at the Percy Street Coffee house, and at 8 went to the Lobby of the Ho. of Commons, where they were deep in a debate to appoint a Committee to examine into the state of the Bank.

Eat oysters at the Mitre.

Resolutions appear of various public Meetings to take the Notes of the Bank, and most of the Merchants and Traders have subscribed these at the Mans: Ho.

March 1:

I forgot to mention that the French landed on the 22nd., at a place called Fisgard in Pembroke Shire, 1200 or 1500 Men from 2 or 3 Frigates, which gave a very slender alarm at the time, but the honest Welchmen turned out armed with pitch-Forks in defence of their Land, and aided by some *Militia* who were at hand, the whole were presently made Captives, and surrend(er)ed at discretion to Lord Cawdor.* The Frigates left them. They

* Some soldiers were sent from Bristol to meet this invasion. In their duty of guarding French prisoners-of-war, they were replaced by a Volunteer Regiment, the members of which, while awaiting proper equipment, bought up all the mopsticks in the City and turned them into pikes with iron heads.

were commanded by a grey-headed Fellow whose name is Tate. With what view these Fellows cou'd be there landed, and thus deserted, is at present mysterious, but the probable conjecture is that they are a Banditti of Felons, whom the French wanted to get rid of, and, in that case, we have gained a Loss, for while They are here, we must be at the expence of maintaining 'em. We send our Felons to a prodigious distance to New South Wales at a vast expence. They manage these things better in France, by sending their Felons to *Old* So. Wales at no expence at all!

The Bank, finding that they are not to be pressed for payments in Cash, are now very liberal in their discounts, and the Merchants being contented with paper that is current, for paper that is not current, appear well reconciled to the new mode.

Mch 2/4:

A most important debate took place in the H. of C. on the 28th. The message from the King respecting the Order of Council in the Bank Concerns being read, Mr. Pitt moved "that a Select Committee be appointed" &c. An Amendment by Mr. Sheridan on which they divided:—

Ayes:	88	
Noes:	244	
	——	156

On the 1st: another important debate on a motion by Mr. Fox "That a Committee be appointed to

inquire into the Causes of the Order of Council." Seconded by General Walpole.

For:	67	
Against:	141	
	——	74

Mr. Sheridan moved that Mr. Fox may be added to the Committee on the affairs of the Bank.

For:	53	
Against:	144	
	——	91

On the 3rd. Friday.

The general gloom that pervaded the Town was cleared by the arrival of Capt. Robt. Calder, with the very unexpected news that Sir. John Jervis on the 14th. ulto. (Valentine's Day), had with 15 Sail of the Line only, fallen in with the Spanish Fleet consisting of 27 Sail of the Line, and by a bold enterprise cut off abt. 1/3 of 'em, and after a sharp Battle of 6 hours, had the good fortune to capture:—

Salvater Mundi	112 gs.
St. Joseph	112 ,,
St. Nichs.	80 ,,
,, Yridro	74 ,,

with comparatively little loss on our side, vizt. 300 only, killed and wounded.

The Spaniards lost: Killed, 261; Wounded, 342; among the former, General Don Francesco Xavier Wenthuysen, Chef d' Escadre.

The Maritime History of England does not exhibit

so glorious a conquest. Whether the circumstances of the action are considered, in regard to the gallantry and skill which were displayed in bringing the enemy to Battle; the presence of mind with which the Gallant Admiral seized on the critical moment, and the Science he displayed in pursuing his advantage; the prompt alacrity of his Fleet in seconding his efforts with so little an expence of Blood, form altogether such a combination of interesting Features as to give to this glorious achievement a splendor and importance beyond anything in Modern Times.

This Triumph, however, so very unexampled in Brilliance, had only the effect to raise the Stocks 1/2 %, and that for a very short period.

Thanks of both Houses were unanimously voted to Sr. John, the other Admirals, Officers, and Men. Guns at the Tower were fired, Bells ringing in every quarter and many a Hhd of Wine, I daresay, was drank to the Health of the Jolly Tars of Old England. The Santissima Trinidada of 130 guns, it is said, also struck her Colours, but was rescued from her Fate by four or five 74^{s}.

The Committee reported that the Assets of the Bank on the 25 ulto. amounted to

	£17,597,280
and their Debts	13,770,390
Surplus	£3,826,890

besides £11,686,800 lent the Government, for which they receive 3%. The Report does not state the

particulars of these Assets,—how much in Specie and Bullion, and how much in paper.

Mch 3:

Lord Bridport with 15 Sail of the Line and 4 Frigates sailed from St. Helens on the 2nd. Inst: with a fine Breeze of Wind. E.S.E. On the 3rd., Mr. Whitbread brought forward his Motion for a Committee to inquire into the conduct of Ministers with regard to the Enemy's late attempt to invade Ireland. Previous question moved by Mr. Dundas.

For:	209
Against:	62
	147

Five of the prisoners taken near Haverfordwest arrived at the Admiralty with Lord Cawdor, and were examined before Mr. Ford, the Justice.

This day, Two pound and One pound Notes were issued from the Bank, and Crowds of people assembled to get them in Exchange for larger.

Wed. 8 *Mch*:

This is appointed by Government as a day of Fasting, Humiliation and Repentance, that is, in other words, Everybody who has got a Horse rides out, and all get the best dinner they can.

I do not recollect that the French Men have appointed such a day since the commencement of the War—they mean to do their Business first and go to Church afterwards. I hardly know what to

make of these Kind of things, or what is intended by them. If it really is a day set apart for serious duty, and all people would join in it, I certainly wou'd have no objection, though firmly persuaded am I that Fasting and praying will not avail in the Contest, but such a day so appointed, and by us so kept, appears to me a mockery of Religion, and a perfect Farce. It is but Justice, however, to the Inhabitants of the Country to say that they are infinitely more attentive, [he was in Bedford at the time], and Zealous than the Inhabitants of the Metropolis, and the observation is, I believe, not new.

Sat. 11. *Mch* :

Flour 40/- pr. sack, and the Loaf @ 7½.

Madame Schwellenbergen,* who came to this Country with the Queen, and is said to be very fond of presents and Jewels, paid the debt of Nature 3 days ago at Buck'gham House.

Mch 11 :

Mr. Pitt and Mr. Wilberforce,† after many unsuccessful attempts, have at length succeeded in abolishing the "Guinea Trade."

Mch 12 : (*Sunday*) :

A most interesting and animated debate in the

* The oddities of Mrs. Schwellenberg, Queen Charlotte's German Maid of Honour, are entertainingly described in Fanny Burney's *Diary and Letters.*

† Without Pitt's backing, Wilberforce would have made another "unsuccessful attempt."

H. of C. on Thursday, on a Motion of Mr. Pitt to continue the Order of Council:

Divided Ayes: 174
Noes: 65
—— 109.

The Secret Committee was therefore revived. Mr. Sheridan again moved that Mr. Fox may be added.

Divided Noes: 157
Ayes: 60
—— 97.

Capt. Hallowell arrived from Sir. J. Jervis, who was at Lisbon with his prizes, on the 26th. ulto and, it is said, brings account that the Spanish fleet, reinforced, is still at Sea, cruizing with 26 Sail. Strange if true! By Accounts delivered to the D. of Portland, there are in the Country 12,150 emigrants. I should think that there (are) many more.

On Friday other important debates. Mr. Pitt moved that the Committee shou'd be chosen by Ballot. Resisted by the Opposition on the Ground that the Ballot as now conducted is altogether under influence of the Minisr.—which it certainly is. Mr. Pollen moved an amendment that the Committee be "Now" chosen. Resisted by Administration because that wou'd defeat the purpose.

Divided Ayes: 40
Noes: 123
—— 83

Paris Journals are received up to the 4th. and 5th. inst. by which it appears that His Holiness, the Pope, has sent Commissioners to Buonaparte and negotiated a peace.

He begins his letter:—

"Dear Son, Health & Apostolic Benediction," dated St. Peters, 12 Feby. 22nd year of the Pontificate.

Buonaparte replies from Tolentino 1 Ventise, 5 year: "The peace between Your Holiness and the French Republic is just signed." Thus has this young and inexperienced General completed the conquest of Italy, and proud Imperial Rome has consulted her safety by a timely submission to the Terms which the Republic have thought proper to dictate. The terms are not yet published by the Directory, but doubtless His Holiness has paid dearly for his Rashness in taking up Arms. In another letter of the same date he says:

"The Commission of learned Men has made a "good Harvest at Ravenna, Pecaro, Cona, Loretto, "and Perugia. The produce will immediately be "expedited to Paris. With this joined to all that "shall be sent you from Rome, we shall have all "that is beautiful in Italy, excepting a few pcs. of "Art at Turin and Naples." *

* The Alderman's mentality is shown by the absence of any comment on the despoiling of Italy. Napoleon, in his view, could do no wrong.

Monday 13*th Mch*:

The 3% on Saturday were at 50½.

Lady Buckinghamshire, Ladt Elizth Lutterel and Mrs. Sturt, were to their own particular dishonour and the disgrace of the age, convicted before N. Conant and T. Robinson Esqr. of punting at a Faro Table, and fined each of them £50. Mr. Martendale, at the same Time, was fined £200, being the proprietor of the Table. They have appealed, fools as they are, to the next Quarter Sessions.* A Mail from Lisbon in 7 days. Sr. John Jervis, with his Fleet, and prizes, anchored within the Bay of Lisbon on the 27 and 28 Feby.

13*th. Mch*:

Sharp debate last night in the House on a motion of Mr. Harrison to enquire "whether some relief &., to the public burthen may not be obtained by the reduction of sinecure places &c."

Previous Question moved by Mr. Pitt.

For:	169	
Against:	77	
		92.

A Committee of 15 appointed to examine into the Finances of the Country, but, as usual, pack'd by the Minister. Of course, no good can result to the public from their Researches.

* There was a great scandal attached to this case, which gave a death-blow to the prevalent craze for the gambling game of cards called Faro.

Mch: 14:

A statement in the *St. James Chronicle* makes the population of

England	7,260,196
Wales	398,114
Scotland	1,500,000
Ireland	3,500,000

I shou'd think greatly surcharged.

Mch (?)

The Ld. Mayor has refused to call a Common Hall to consider an Address to the King to dismiss His Ministers, till he has Consulted the Common Council, thus renouncing his prerogative and establishing a precedent. But it is the fashion of the Times that the people shall have no voice. Every measure, however, tends to the same point, all hurrying on to the same fatal period, when the Voice of the injured can be stifled no longer. Then stand aloof all ye Deserters from the Cause of the Constitution! All ye blind supporters of Mr. Pitt and Corruption!

On Tuesday (14th), died Mrs. Pope, a celebrated actress, who made her first appearance in Imogen at Drury Lane, in the year 1768. In her Line of Character,—haughty Tragedy! she has scarcely left her equal.*

*Mrs. Pope was a finished actress: Churchill's "Lively Pope." She excelled in "Abigail" parts, but the Alderman apparently appreciated better her higher flights. She belonged to Garrick's company.

Mch 18:

Walked to Clapham with the children and picked Violets in plenty as we returned.

March 19:

The Anniversary of my 47th. Birthday, being born in 1750, and strange events have I seen. We learn Wisdom from experience, and I hope yet to profit by the Lessons that I have been taught. The best study of Mankind is—Man, and a very diff^t. Creature he is to what I was once taught to believe that he was. I had benevolence enough to believe, when I was young, that it was Right to consider every Man Honest, Generous, and Good till you find him otherwise—but I am convinced that my Uncle, Capt. Urry's maxim is Right—that you ought to consider every Man a Rascal till you find him Honest. I am quite sure that it is the Maxim of Truth, and will scrupulously apply by far to the greater part of Mankind, and I am very sorry that advice so wholesome had not taken deep Root in my mind at a more early period of my Life, but still I trust that it is not too late.*

Strange events do I say that I have seen? Yes! I have seen! I have seen among other strange things, the Bank of England, by a Mandate of the Privy Council, stop payment. A mortal stab to the

* Captain Urry's cynical maxim was not very original, nor, in practice, has it proved an unqualified success, as the Alderman may have discovered before he died.

vitals of the Country never to be recovered. Sir John Mitford, the present Solicitor-General, and of the secret Committee to examine into the Concerns of the Bank, states expressly that the Bank has not money enough (i.e. Cash), to pay its notes. Lord North used to say that he never was so distressed as to have his Conduct defended by some of his friends. Mr. Pitt, I am sure, may say the same thing, when defended by such a Friend as Sir John Mitford. *Except in their profession, I believe no Race of Men so completely ignorant as Lawyers.* There is a Bill passing through the House to indemnify the illegal Conduct of the Minister and his Associates, as well as the Directors in obeying the order, and to prevent their issuing money except in particular cases. The Bill, of course, will pass, but the operation of the Bill must be limited, I suppose, to 3, 6, 9, or 12/m°. Its termination, however, will arrive and then—it requires no Ghost from the dead to predict that as no man will have confidence with another; those who possess notes will directly apply for payment, and the Bank, having once stopt their Issue by Order, will be compel'd to stop a 2nd. Time—*ex necessitate.** The artful policy, the deceit, and hypocritical conduct of the Minister cannot, in the nature of things, I shou'd imagine, bear him out much longer, nor will it be any apology now to the Country that he should resign, nor does it much

* The Alderman's gloomy vaticinations were not borne out by the event.

signify who succeeds him, even if it should be Mr. Fox.

I daresay an Act of Oblivion will be agreed to cover all that has passed, for there is not Honour or Virtue enough in the Country left to call him to an account and punish him! Why? Because the accusers may in their turn become the accused. It is not the change, the Hocus-pocus, of Men but Measures that the people expect and must have. A Total and Compleat alteration in the system in every department of the State—a fair and Honest Representation in Parliament—the abolishing of the useless and sinecure places at present in the gift of the Minister, and a principal source of the Corruption of the House of Commons &c &c &c. is the kind of Reformation that I think likely to prevent a Revolution. Is there Virtue enough to effect it? I fear not. The weather continues cold and the Wind still ab. N.E.

Wed: 22 *Mch*:

The outstanding debt due from the Government to the Bank of England, and outstanding on the 25 Feby. last was *£9,964,413 3. 0d.* as appears certified by Abr. Newland.

Paris papers state K. of Prussia has concluded a Treaty, Guaranteeing Belgium as a part of the Republican dominion, and to furnish 60,000 to the cause in case the Emperor shall cross the Rhine.

A Strong debate on Wednesday (22nd) on the subject of the Bank, on the Clause of Indemnity, adopted with a division.

Meetings with the Bankers and Mr. Pitt; the former want to be exonerated from the Law in making payments in Notes. Mr. Pitt, with his usual duplicity, evaded the question.

Mch 24:

In the House of Peers a motion for peace on Wednesday (22nd), brought forward by the Earl of Oxford. Resisted by the Tribe of Ministerialists on the ground that on the 30th: Decr: they had addressed the King to Continue the War.

The same argument may be urged 10 years hence. Are not circumstances changed between 30th: Decr and 22d. March?

Has not the Bank of England stopt payment? But there never was a Race of Men so contemptibly servile as the House of Peers. If possible they are more corrupt than the H. of C.

The same day a motion by Mr. Fox on the state of Ireland, to address the King to heal their wounds, resisted by Mr. Pitt and his Tribe of dependents.

Lord F. Campbell said that the whole Kingdom of Ireland—I mean (he asserted) that the Lord-Lieut. —possessed the entire confidence of the Nation; and in the other Ho. Lord Darnley believed that at no period of the History of the Country were they so happy and contented as at this moment, tho' the whole County of Ulster, as well as a part of Down and Antrim, are declared out of the King's peace by a proclamation issued by General Lake.

Can the Country sit still and hear such Falsehoods?

Sat 25 *Mch* : *Ladyday* :

Some Business of Great moment brought the King to Town with the Queen and two princesses, on Tuesday at 10. o'c. p.m. witho' guards, stated to be on the affairs of Ireland, because, I suppose, as Lord Darnley states, they enjoy so much happiness and tranquillity.

Sun : 26*th. Mch* :

On Friday Mr. Pitt moved to fill up the termination of the Bank Bill now passing, with the "24th June." Mr. Fox substituted the "1st May."

They may talk and argue and divide and Resolve, but it matters not. There is only one possible way to restore the credit of the Bank, which is to restore, —say, reduce the number of their outstanding notes within the compass of their cash, and to lay the account then before the proprietors and the public fairly and honestly. Do this by reducing the debt due from the Govt. or by any other mode, and the Business is done. Without it the Bank cannot stand its ground, more than Individuals. The plan of Sir W. Pulteney to form another Bank to advance money on Title-deeds and other such securities, is a good theoretical Idea! What are they to advance? What! Why, forsooth, paper for parchment. Ridiculous. And Sr. John Sinclair's other nostrum to increase the Capital of the Bank cannot be listened to a moment by those who have Commonsense, which, by the by, is not a very necessary ingredient in the composition of a Man in other respects qualified to sit in the H. of Commons.

On Thursday was held a Common Hall, and an address to the King was agreed on, praying (him) to dismiss His Ministers; the address to be presented to His Majesty on the *Throne*—a measure not likely to be complied with, because in the year 1775, when John Wilkes was Lord Mayor, the Livery presented a strong Remonstrance 'gainst the conduct of Administration in those days, according to usage, which the King received on the *Throne*, but being offended with the Freedom of the Citizens, thro' the medium of Lord Hertford, the then Lord Chancellor, it was communicated to His Lordship that His Majesty would receive addresses from The Livery in that manner *no more*. John Wilkes at that Time had not Apostasized, and wrote a most animated reply in defence of the injured Rights of the Livery.

N.B.—It is proved to be true. The Sheriffs on Friday went to St. James's to know when the King wou'd receive their address on the *Throne*, when, after an attendance of 2 hours, the Duke of Portland told them it had been usual for His Majesty to receive addresses from the City of London in their Corporate Body, not by Representatives. In Times like the present, and particularly when an important Right is at stake, how necessary it is to have Sheriffs firm in conduct and strong in mind.

The Sheriffs, if they had done their duty, ought to have demanded an Audience, and Communicated to no human Creature the object of their Mission, till they were in the Closet, and with the King Face-to-Face, and they must then have had an

answer; but communicating their Embassy to the Duke of Portld. betrayed their Trust, and will, in consequence, place the Livery in a very awkward situation.

30 *Mch*:

Lord Suffolk on the 27th: moved for a removal of Ministers; negatived, of course.

The news from the W. Indies is the capture of Trinidad, without loss, except (?) Lieut. Villeneuve of the 8th: Regt. dead of his wounds. An Unlucky Fellow, I think. Surrendered on the 18th: Feby: to Sr. R. Abercrombie, who commanded by land, and Rear-Adml. Hy: Harvey. 4 Vessels (named), burnt by the Spaniards. About 600 Military, 581 Marines, and 1032 Seamen were made prisoners.

The news was made the most of in London. The Lord Mayor in *propria persona* read the news at Lloyd's,* and received 3 Cheers, but notwithstanding this zeal, some of them must have had their ardour damped when they read the names of the following Ships on the Book (10 named), all of them captured and carried snug into Guadalupe.

The importance of this Intelligence, however great, does not tend to raise the Stocks.

* Lloyd's Coffee-House is mentioned as early as 1700. It was originally in Lombard Street (at the corner of Abchurch Lane), and subsequently, under the title of the New Lloyd's Coffee-House, in Pope's Head Alley, Cornhill. In 1774, it was removed to the north-west corner of the Royal Exchange, where it remained until that building was destroyed by fire. Lloyd's continues to find a home in the present Royal Exchange.

3 % s 50½ and the New Loyalty 14 % dis.

An address in the Boro' to the King, praying a dismission of the Ministers, and sundry meetings to the same effect in various parts of the Country, but what does that avail? The people must have what Mr. Pitt has often promised them in vain: Indemnification for the past, Security for the future, and Disarming the County of Ullster. On the 20th. Inst., a very spirited debate on a motion brot. forward by Mr. Grattan, but resisted.

5 *Apl*:

Debates on the passage of the Bank Bill, which is now clog'd with Clauses brought in by the Lawyers, as well as the Country Gen'men, that it now bears not the appearance of the original Bill. A Mortal Blow in my opinion is given to the Credit of the Country, but under existing circumstances, if they had simply confirmed the Order in Council, and then restricted the Bank from issuing money for a limited Time, the question is whether that would not have been all that was necessary to be done, and all that they ought to do.

8 *Apl*:

A Meeting has been held in Westm^r. and a petition agreed on to the King to dismiss his Ministers, and several County meetings are held to the same effect. But of what moment are they, when less than 200 persons return to Parliament a majority of the House? The Storm, however, comes on progressively, and must burst somewhere and

somehow, and the distance in all probability not so far off as Mr. Wyndham may imagine. Which way or in what manner its Fury will be directed, I defy any man to say.

The 3 % s @ 49½.

Apl: 9:

A Revolution has suddenly burst out in the Aristocratic Government of Venice, which is likely to produce very extraordinary and important changes in that quarter.

Great discontent appears manifest in Ireland in consequence of Genl. Lake's proclam^n: Subjecting the County of Ullster to Martial Law.

Meetings are held and divisions among the Yeomen Corps, and one at the Mansion House where the Merchants have Resolved:—

> "That the exclusive use and consumption of Irish manufactures for 12 months is essentially necessary to alleviate the calamity of the working people."

I think almost demonstrative of Restriction of Intercourse between the 2 Countrys. But what does it signify? "Perish Commerce"! "Live the Constitution"! Bravo, Mons^r: Pitt! Bravo, Mons^r: Wyndham!

The Gale increases, my Boys, and sharply too! Stand By!

Apl: 10:

Accts. are received from New So. Wales, but I know not the channel unless by the *Georgiana*

packt: lately from India. On the 16 March '96 died Joseph Gerald Esqr., one of the devoted victims of Scotch prosecution under the influence of the present profligate and unprincipled Administration, for maintaining those doctrines precisely which Mr. Pitt and the D. of Richmond subscribed and vigorously supported till they got into power in the year 1783.

Every Friend to Genius, Literature, and Freedom will read with regret the Melancholy Fate of this Gentleman, who was endowed with the quickest sensibility, and an ornament to the most polished Society. Three days after Mr. Gerald, vizt. on the 19th: March—died Mr. Shirvin, another Victim of Ministerial Vengeance. He had bought a small Farm and set himself to the improvement of it, with indefatigable Industry. Mr. Muir, whose sentence was 14 years absence from his Friends and native Country, it is said has made his escape to America, and therefore Mr. Palmer is now the only man left of the 4 who were banished for following the path pointed out to them by those who now rule the Land!

Apl: 11:

On Saturday, for the last time, appeared the justly celebrated Miss. Farren in the character of Lady Teazle, in Sheridan's incomparable comedy of "The School for Scandal." No occasion in the memory of the most veteran amateur ever drew together a more crowded House to take a final adieu

of this accomplished actress, now destined to move in the High Circle of Life as the Countess of Derby.

Mr. Wroughton * spoke a few Lines on her departure, which was accompanied with testimonies of the most lively sentiment, and the Feelings were reciprocal. She sank under the Sensibility of public Homage, and in eloquence more expressive than speech, manifested the fulness of a Grateful Heart.

Apl: 12:

Paris papers up to 8th: inst: with official details from Buonaparte to the Directory of the astonishing achievements of the army in Italy. In no former part of his career has he displayed more of that skill, enterprize, and activity which have distinguished his command, nor in any of his former exploits has he been more faithfully served by the enthusiasm, discipline, and valour of his Troops.

Apl: 12:

Thomas Paine embarked with Mr. Munro for America on the (?) March.

A motion respecting peace was on Monday brought forward by Mr. Pollen, & seconded by Mr. John Macpherson. Divided on the question of the Order of the Day; moved by Mr. Pitt. Ayes, 291; Noes, 85.

In the course of this debate it appeared that another Embassy is resolved on to the Continent, and Mr. Hammond is entrusted with the mission to

* The stage-manager at Drury Lane.

sound the pulse of the Republicans in some new mode, but first he proceeds to Vienna.

Mr. Pitt, of course, declines meeting the Bankers on the subject of the New Loan for the present, tho' the other day he had stipulated as a groundwork that the first payment must be made on the 15th inst, and the money was prepared accordingly. He writes a letter to the Bank informing them of the Embassy, which is directly communicated to the Stock Exchange, and 3%'s instantly rose to 52½ for money, & 54 for the account in May.

No one who has been attentive to the duplicity of Mr. Pitt on various other occasions ought to be surprized at this Manœuvre, whether we view his candour in the Light of a Sharper who will practise any Trick—however base and infamous—to carry his point, or being desirous to amuse the public, or humbug Sir W. Pulteney and the other country wiseacres; but it is most marvellously astonishing indeed that there is one single man of common understanding in the whole Kingdom who can give him Confidence for one single Hour, or credit for any one assertion that he makes. Is he now disposed to renounce Belgium, and allow the Rhine to be the Boundary of the French Republic? Yes! he would, and a great deal more. There is nothing so base and degrading, so humiliating and infamous, that he would not, in my opinion, subscribe—nay, I believe there is nothing, however pitiful, dirty, and mean, that he would not stoop to, to obtain peace and keep his place, and that now is with him the

sole object of this nefarious war, for which the People must continue to bleed, and the Country groan under the pressure of Calamity and Taxes.

This is the anniversary of the memorable Battle fought by Lord Rodney on the 12 April, 1782. I drank to his Memory at Father's, in the evening, where I continue to sleep.

Apl: 13:

A Common Hall held yesterday to receive the Sheriffs' Report of the Conversation that passed between them and the King. In substance, that "he will not, in future, receive an address from the Livery on the Throne."

Some strong resolutions brought forward, but the Lord Mayor broke up the Hall.

Meeting of Whig Club held at the Crown & Anchor, the Duke of Bedford in the Chair.

Meeting at Epsom, when a petition to the King to dismiss his Ministers from his presence for ever, was agreed on. "Ever" gives offence to many. (Pitt might take office later.) As if the Country is longer to be cajoled and fleeced by a change of Men only. It will not do, Billy!

At a Court of Aldermen on Tuesday, the price of Bread was continued the same.

Apl: 14:

Mr. Hammond pushed off with all speed, and sailed from Yarmouth on the 13th. on the *Hawke*, sloop of 18 guns, and it is confidently said that he has taken a well-regulated watch with him, that if

he shou'd be asked what it is o'clock, that he may be able to give an answer without sending a messenger home to enquire.

The Prince of Wirtenburg is daily expected to demand the Princess Royal in marriage, and a Lumping pennyworth she will have of him if Report speaks Truth.

Wed: 19 *Apl*:

Mr. Hammond did not leave our coast till Monday, so that it is almost doubtful whether Mr. Buonaparte will not reach Vienna first.

Accounts are recd: of a serious Mutiny on board Lord Bridport's Fleet at Spithead. The Seamen refuse to go to sea with^{o}: increase of pay, &c., which has occasioned Lord Spencer, &c., to go down.

20 *Apl*:

Meeting of County *re* dismissal of Ministers. Duke of Bedford in the Chair. Duke of Bedford moved and read pet^{n}; sec: by Mr. Whitbread, who painted the character of Mr. Pitt at full length to every Pittite, to which did I cordially subscribe, for a more desperate despot, or a more rapacious, ambitious man does not exist.

It was a gratifying sight to an Honest Man to see a Man high in Rank and great in Opulence and Fortune as is the Duke of Bedford, standing on a Table among the Freeholders of a *Great Country*, and informing them in an unadorned style, and simplicity of Fact, of the infamous conduct of an unprincipled and flagitious Administration. The Duke's

manner (at a dinner in The Swan), and affability bespoke the Gentleman throughout.

21 *Apl*:

The Mutiny at Spithead is of a very extended degree, and conducted on a system of great (good?) conduct, and regularity. They have actually taken possession of all the Ships, and demand a Redress of Grievances before they will return to duty and obedience.

They want increase of pay, more prize money, and several other objects.

Lord Spencer &c are arrived at the *Fountain*, and a Board has been held, but nothing has been concluded on. What the result will be 'tis hard to guess. It is an awkward dilemma to be compel'd to give way on such ground, but if the Men are determined there is no possible Remedy.

From Ireland, too, serious events may be expected.

Sat 22:

The Duke of Bedford stated at the meeting that a letter had been written by Geo. Rose of the Treasury to Mr. Ramsey, Secretary of the India Co., asking the Directors each to pay into the Bank their first instalment by anticipation, on such propn. of the next loan as they wd. be entitled to, according to the usual arrangements. A director is understood to have £10,000 each, and the first payment 10%. A similar letter was sent to the Bank directors. They were to have Exchequer Bills bearing Interest. Considerable sums were paid in accordingly. The

duke said they deserved to be impeached for aiding Govt., without the concurrence of Parl^t: in direct oppos^n: to the Bill of Rights. Parliament now, however, is of no kind of use, for Mr. Pitt can now just as well manage without them as with them.

To what a situation are we now reduced, and how long will this Country submit to be thus cajoled, thus humiliated, thus degraded, thus insulted?

Extract from proclam^n: by Buonaparte.

> "The Austrian Ministers, corrupted by English Gold, betrayed Germany and their Prince, and are as reluctant to negociation as the perfidious Islanders, who are the Horror of all Europe."

When he speaks of "perfidious Islanders," I suppose that he means only Messrs. Pitt & Co. Indeed, it must be so, for that wou'd be Truth, and it cannot apply to the people of this Country in any other manner.

From Portsmouth, advice is received that the Sailors still persist in their demands, but have permitted the *Romney* to proceed to Newfoundland with a Convoy. The *Monarch* went out of Harbour to Spithead—cheered the Insurgents, and it was returned. A signal that they were in Unison.

The business of the Seamen is conducted by a Committee of Two from each ship, who hold their discussions in the great cabin of the *Royal George*. Adml. Gardner, it is stated, with more warmth of Temper than prudence, told them they were a parcel of skulking Cowards, and afraid to meet the French. If true, as barbarous as unjust. He might, if it had

been prudent, called them anything but "Cowards and afraid," and he wou'd have been right, but the Seamen of this Country, as far as fighting goes, are a magnanimous race of Heroes, and perhaps no one instance can be adduced where they shrunk from their duty, or deserted their guns if their officers wou'd stand by them, and in more than one instance (in) this war, after every officer has been killed, a common Sailor has fought his ship well and successfully.

Apl 23:

The Seamen have published an address to The Admiralty, and another to the House of Commons, wherein they enumerate their grievances. Sev'ral of them certainly do not exist, and some cannot be complied with, if good order and discipline are to be restored. They want "Better provisions." They have now the best. They want to go on shore when they please. Ought such an indulgence to be granted, or can they be called reasonable Men who expect it? They complain of the want of sufficient attention to the sick. Is such complaint founded? I daresay No! They ask an increase of pay, and that they ought to have, and it would have been wise if the Governors of this insulted Kingdom had, of themselves, anticipated this request.

The point, however, is of a very serious nature, and by the latest acct^s. from Lond^n. it does not seem now in a Train of Adjustment. The Ships under Mutiny and their respective delegates are: (16 named).

The circumstance altogether is extraordinary. A Representative Government actually established on Board the British Fleet, and a Commission of Admiralty gone to Portsmouth to treat with a convention of Delegates, is an era in the Annals of our Naval History which no man expected to see. And what is worse—if the Seamen persist, their demands must be complied with.

25 *Apl*:

The *Morning Chronicle* of y'day was with me at breakfast, wh. at all times gives a zest to the Bread & Butter, and I am disappointed when it fails in attendance.

The Mutiny of the Sailors is over. A Council was held at Windsor on Saturday, when their propositions were agreed to. Their wages are advanced 5/6 per month, giving them now 1/- per diem without deduction, and their provisions to be full weight without leakage or wastage. Wounded men to be continued in full pay till cured, or pensioned, or admitted into Greenwich Hospital. Lord Bridport with other Admirals, went on board the *Royal George*, where the Delegates were assembled, except two, Joyce and Glyn, who were on shore. They would not listen to proposals without them.

They were sent for and came on board in great form. Their deliberations continued from 11 o'clock till ½ past 6, when 3 cheers from the *Queen Charlotte* announced that the Men were satisfied, when the

Board of Delegates was dissolved. The cheer was succeeded by every ship, and thus this extraordinary Business terminated. A proclamation from the King at the same Time granted Indemnification for the past, and it is to be hoped that the Good Faith and attention of Government will be Security for the Future. The Seamen have charged in their Representation a considerable degree of culpability on Lord Howe, to whom they presented their petition, in a dutiful manner, before the resignation of his Command. This petition contained the whole of their grievances, and ought to have been considered. It is said that His Lordship did present it to The Admiralty, where it has lain ever since, as many other petitions do, with no more attention paid to it by Government than if it had been a Blank piece of paper, which, however, by and by, must be heard and redressed in the same manner. This ought to teach Administrations a Lesson, which they much stand in need of, for it is a galling thing to pride to grant that to Remonstrance which was at first refused to prayer and petition.

Wed 26 *Apl*:

On Monday, Mr. Pitt, after 3 hours deliberation, agreed with Boyd, Curtis, Thelluson, Goldsmid, & E.P. Salomons for the Loan of 18 millions, vizt.:—

England	13
Ireland	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Emperor	$3\frac{1}{2}$

Apl 28:

Chancellor Pitt opened his Budget yesterday.

Among the taxes appear an additional $1\frac{1}{2}^{d}$ on newspapers, which is calculated to produce £114,000.

Meetings are held in various parts of the Country, and petitions presented to the King to dismiss His Ministers, but the Corporation of London, the only Corporate Body in the Kingdom, (with the exception, I believe, of the 2 Universities), who are permitted to present their petitions to the King upon the Throne, being content both with the Men and the Measures,—'tis hardly likely that we shall be able to collect His Majesty's pleasure, as he gives no answer to petitions at the Levee, so that what becomes of them, or to what useful purpose they may be applied, we know not.

Monday 1 *May*:

Too cold for the garlands, tho' the Sweeps in the Street were making what they cou'd of it.

2 *May*:

Message from the King requiring aid to the Emperor, not exceeding £2,000,000, besides the £1,000,000 already sent.

The armistice in Italy prolonged 3 days. Mr. Fox wanted a delay of 3 days before the passing the Loan Bill, conceiving the possibility that these 3 days wou'd produce even a separate peace. Mr. Pitt wou'd not admit such flimsy arguments, and his myrmidons were ready to support his wish.

Sr. Wm. Pulteney did not think the sum of any great moment, and therefore he thought the delay very unnecessary. By a Statement of the actual produce of Taxes for the years 1793-4-5-6, and Mr. Pitt's Estimates, the account with the public stands, vizt:—

Estimate - -	£7,815,812
Actual Produce -	2,923,120
leaving a deficiency of	£4,892,692

to be made good, I suppose, from the flourishing state of our Trade.

3 May:

Royal Academy opened on Monday (1st:) and it is stated as much improved, and so it ought before it can be called good.*

7 May:

Every Mail from Ireland confirms the increase of discord in that Country. Every man who expresses an opinion 'gainst the impolitic Measures of Administration is marked out for Resentment. The Duke of Leinster has avowed his disapprobation of the Measures pursuing 'gainst the supposed Insurgents, several of whom have been tried, but all have been acquitted. His services as Colonel of the Kildare Militia are dispensed with. Upwards of

* How often has a similar statement been since made on 1st May about the Academy!

40 are arrested in Belfast as conspirators 'gainst the State, and a Message has been sent to Parliament on the subject from the Lord-Lieutenant.

A Secret Comm^{ee}: of 15 from the Commons appointed to examine and report. Things wear a serious aspect. Stand by, Mons^{r}. Pitt—for the day of Retribution, in some shape or another, is at hand.

May 9:

Left Bedford at 12 o'clock in a Chaise, and arrived at the Castle & Falcon, Aldersgate Street. The morning cold. About Hatfield, it began to blow, and continued with increasing violence for several Hours, and very hard Rain. The Town in great consternation at news received from Portsmouth. The Sailors finding the compact between them and the Lords of the Admiralty not ratified, according to promise, have again mutinied and taken possession of the Fleet, sending many of their Officers on shore. A Boat with delegates came alongside the *London*, commanded by Admiral Colpoys, and Captain Griffith, who refused them, with threats, leave to get on board, but they persisted. The Admiral ordered the Marines aft, and unfortunately to Fire, when William Baker, Richard Collins, John Pickering, and Charles Darron fell Victims to his Rashness. The Men fired in turn, and some fell on the Quarter-Deck, and among them Lieut. Sims of the Marines, who suffered the amputation of an Arm, and a Boy who died at Haslar. Baker, Collins, and Pickering are also

dead of their wounds. Adm[l]: Colpoys and Capt. Griffith were then confined to the Great Cabin by orders from the Seamen, who had taken command of the Ship, and fears are entertained for their safety, —indeed it is stated by report that they are already executed. We hope not.

Wed: 10*th. May*:

Adm[l]. Colpoys is not tried, or executed, but still in Confinement. The Sailors still in command. Various reports in circulation, but nothing can be depended on. Mr. Whitbread brought forward a Motion last night of Censure on The Ministers for neglect in not bringing forward within a decent Time, the Bill for increase of Seamen's pay, &c., as was promised, which was the duty of Administration. A scandalous neglect, surely, but the House divided.

Dined with Mr. Nutt, who, for the first Time, thinks Mr. Pitt culpable. He might have prevented this second Rebellion, but he says in defence that he was bringing forward the Measure as expeditiously as the Forms wou'd permit. To talk of Forms by any other man might perhaps be deemed some kind of plea, but from a man like Mr. Pitt—when to answer his own nefarious purposes he has violated all Form, all Law, and trampled often on the very Vitals of the Constitution—is an Insult to decency and Commonsense; but the House of Commons is absorb[d] in Corruption, and will have no attention to what is Right and Just till the Bubble bursts which holds the people as yet in Bondage.

Thurs: 10*th*: (11*th*) *May*:

Matters at Portsm°: still deranged, and the Men disobedient. A Bill at length brought in to quiet the Seamen, and hurried thro' the Houses with silent and unprecedented Rapidity. Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville can do a great deal in a little Time whipt on to Duty.

Sat 13 *May*:

The Seamen's Bill was read 3 times in each House on the same day, and received at 9 o'clock the Roy^l. Assent by Commission. Who says that Mr. Pitt cannot be expeditious when necessity requires?

May 16—20:

The most interesting news that we have heard from Town during these 5 days is that the Seamen at Spithead have returned to subordination and duty, and the Fleet under Lord Bridport are gone to Sea. That tranquillity is restored is a pleasant event at which every man must rejoice, but the Revolt, in my opinion, is a Mortal Blow to the discipline of the Navy.

Tho' the Men are disposed to return to duty, having been gratified in all they demand, yet the Officers cannot possibly have the same confidence in the Men which they were wont to do, nor can the Men hold the Officers in the same respect they did formerly, knowing now from experience that by unanimity among themselves, they can again resume the command whenever it suits the moment and their purposes. Mr. Pitt has taken warning, and

possibly prevented the Revolt of the Soldiers by stating to the House his intention of bringing forward some proposition for the amelioration of their condition.

Mon: *22nd. May*:

The Right Revd. Father in God, The Lord Bishop of Lincoln, (Dr. Prettyman, once private Tutor and afterwards Secretary to Mr. Pitt), came from his palace at Bagden, and held what is called his official visitation. Many were confirmed in the Articles or principles of our Holy Faith. Many Clergymen of the Diocese attended, and the Sermon was preached to a numerous congregation by the Revd. Mr. Greatham, the Minister of Odell. His Text was taken from the 4th. of St. Paul to the Galatians, and the 16th verse, "Am I now become thine enemy because I have told you the truth?" The substance of his discourse was to inculcate into the minds of his Hearers the necessity of believing the Truth, and the necessity of enforcing the doctrines of Truth by the preachers of the Gospel. True! But the difficulty with me is to know what is the Truth. The Sermon, upon the whole, I thought a moderate essay of ability, and Mr. Greatham, tho' more able than many, cannot be estimated, in my opinion, among the Orators of the day. After the service, the Bishop gave his Charge to his Reverend Flock, the whole of which rested upon one point. He stated that the Revd. Dr. Geddes had published his intention of giving to the World a new Edition of the Bible from the original Text, and that 2 Books have

appeared—Deuteronomy, and I think he said Joshua. The Revd. Prelate stated that the argument or leading Feature of this extraordinary preface struck at the very foundation which supports the Christian Religion, and therefore it became his Duty to take notice of it, and to guard those whom he then particularly addressed 'gainst the effect of doctrines so destructive. Dr. Geddes, it seems, asserts that the Pentateuch, or 5 Books of Moses, are merely Fabulous Tales, and certainly not written earlier than the Time of Joshua. Whether written by Moses, by Joshua, or the author of *Tom Jones*, does not appear to me a matter of very great moment, nor does it appear to me worthy the ability of Dr. Geddes to unshackle the opinion of Mankind by an endeavour to convince them the Books in question were *not* written by Moses. It is clear as daylight that they were written by Some Body, (and a clever Fellow he was,) or we should not have had the perusal of them. I agree with Mr. Burke that the Bulk of Mankind do not think, and in points of Religion, particularly, it is perhaps fortunate that they do not. It is more for the peace and good order of the World, perhaps, that generally received opinions shou'd go on just as they are, than that we shou'd be disturbed by the speculative doctrines of this Man or t'other Man concerning so silly a Question as who was really the Author of a Book written 3 or 4000 years ago. We cannot possibly get proof, and if learned Men differ as to the Fact, what are the simple and the unlearned to believe? Why, says Mr. Greatham,

Believe the Truth! Yes! but who is to teach me the Truth?

I can easily believe myself that there may be in these Books, a very slender proportion of Truth, wrapt up in an immensity of Allegory and Fable by the ingenious priests of the Times to answer the then existing circumstances. Mankind were notoriously for Ages and Ages led by the ambition of priests and the delusion of priestcraft, nor was it till the 16th Century, abo: the year 1520, when Luther began to preach his Opinion of Faith, and to expose the Folly in which the World had been so long and so credulously enslaved by the base and abominable doctrine of the Infallibility of the Pope —(a *hiatus* here, but the sense of the unfinished sentence is obvious).

Believing neither in the prophets of Old, the Nonsense of Miracles, nor in the doctrine of Revealed Religion, it may be asked what my sentiment on Religion is? To which I answer, that I subscribe to the plain simple principle fully explained in Paine's *Age of Reason.* I believe in one Superintending Being, whose powers and existence nothing that is Human can conceive. Whenever I walk, or wherever I walk—whatever I see—the Sun—the Moon—the Stars, and on whatever I contemplate, I am fully convinced of some great First Cause of whose Nature nothing that is mortal can judge. I reject all doctrines resulting from the Imagination of Man, and I subscribe to no Form of Worship by Man adopted, except from the desire of concurring

apparently to General Custom, in order to support and maintain those principles which I conceive absolutely necessary for the preservation of tranquillity, and the Comfort of Society. The Bishop endeavoured to illustrate his opinion of the Authenticity of the Books by some observations which he had gleaned from Mr. Maurice's very able *History of Eastern Antiquities*, as well as from the Asiatic researches of Sir. William Jones; but reading his observations in the Manner he did, and listening in a crowd where occasionally the thread of his discourse was interrupted, I must confess that nothing struck me as applying forcibly to the point at issue, nor in any degree refuting the position supported by Dr. Geddes.

As to myself, I know nothing of the matter, and by and by when I have read this celebrated preface, and the learned arguments that by and by will be urged by many divines in opposition, I daresay that I shall agree that able men have written on both sides of the Question, but as none of them can know more than I know, I shall be as far knowing the Fact as I am now.*

May 23—31:

A most interesting debate on the 26th: on a Motion of Mr. Grey on the subject of Reform in the Legislative Body, most ably seconded by Mr.

* Some of the Alderman's relatives were well-known Presbyterian clergymen, who would have been shocked at his lapse from orthodox Calvinism.

Fox in a speech of 2½ hours, and perhaps the most energetic that ever fell from his Lips in the whole course of his Life.

May (26):

Majority in favour of the Minister and Corruption.

The fate of the motion was, of course, what was expected. In the course of their speeches, both Mr. Grey and Mr. Fox anticipated the event, and finding all effort ineffectual to stop the Mad career of Mr. Pitt and his Associates, seceded at present from all Parliamentary duty farther till the people are convinced of the impolicy of their measures and the duplicity of their conduct, and they can render some assistance towards rescuing the nation from its impending Fate by a return to their seats.* Not that they can, in my opinion, do good—now, nor at any future period, for the disease now has got to too great a height to yield to anything short of Radical Cure, which I am most clear must be the effect of causes now existing. From Parliament no Good can be expected. Lord Chatham said in the latter part of his Life that before the end of this Century, Parliament must be reformed within doors, or it would be reformed without, and 'tis not impossible but that the son may live to see the verification of His Father's prophecy.

*A comparison between the attitude of Fox and his associates towards Pitt's Government in the critical year of 1797, and the conditions existing in the House of Commons in the year 1916, is instructive.

In Ireland strong measures are taken by Government against those who are styled United Irishmen, —a Body of men stated by the Committee to the House of Commons as amounting to 100,000. The Military by a proclamation are authorized to suppress Rebellion without the interference of the Civil power. A blessed prospect they have of it! From the Continent, we only hear that peace and tranquillity reign in Paris, and that Mr. Hammond had again left Vienna on the 10th: inst., and was at Dresden, not having been able to get official intelligence of what is passing between our good Ally the Emperor, and the Directory, between whom, it is said, that preliminaries have been exchanged.

In Italy, Buonaparte threatens vengeance against the State of Venice, and if the charge be true, that of having murdered 600 Frenchmen who were sick in the Hospital, as stated in the French General's proclamation, there is nothing they do not deserve. A most horrible Government it ever has been, and now must be changed or annihilated. Our Funds have been, and I believe now are, 3 %'s., 47-$\frac{5}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $\frac{7}{8}$; Bank 116; New Loy. Loan 16 % dis., and the present Loan 1$\frac{1}{2}$ % prem., but all this is nought when compared to the unexpected Mutiny and Rebellion broken out on board the Ships of War at the Nore, where there are 12 Sail-of-the-Line, and as many Frigates, in a state of Insubordination, taken possession of by their Crews, and the Red Flag of defiance flying at their main-topmast Heads. An Intercourse has taken place between Admi:

Buchner and the Delegates, but nothing like a return to duty has been the consequence as yet. On the contrary, the Seamen persist in their demands. The neighbouring country round Sheerness—the Medway, &c., as well as the Essex shore—is lined with Troops, planted with Cannon; and everything that is lamentable and distressing may be apprehended.

June 1/14:

The only event wherein the public seem much interested is the mutiny among the Seamen at the Nore, where not less than 22 Sail of Men-of-War have actually been in open Rebellion, with the Red Flag of defiance at their main-topmast's head. Various have been the attempts to persuade them to return to duty and obedience, but they as steadily refuse ev'ry kind of overture towards reconciliation till all they have demanded shou'd be granted. Finding that to be the fixed determination of the Revolters, Acts of Parliament have been passed to enable the Government to take decisive and coercive measures to compel submission. Each ship has its Delegates, who meet regularly in convention on board the *Sandwich*, and Richard,* their Chief, who gives out his orders regularly, is as regularly obeyed as any other Chieftain. On Saturday, the 10th, the Flags were struck, and the Union (hoisted) in its stead as a token of submission, but finding the Delegates & Ringleaders were excluded from pardon,

* Richard Parker.

the Red Flag was again hoisted, and there seems now no alternative but that of unconditional submission on the one side, or hostile Resistance on the other. Several ships, however, have left the Mutineers with some risque, being exposed to the Fire of the Rebel ships, and sev'ral have lost their Lives in the conflict, and many have been wounded.

Affairs in Ireland wear a very serious aspect, but the strong hand of power for the present stifles the murmur of the discontented.

Genl. Kosciosco, the gallant defender of the Liberty of the Poles, is arrived in London, and has been complimented by the Whig Club with a Sword.

Stocks have been on the advance (48 to 52), on the possibility of peace.

June 15, 16, 17.

The papers announce the suppression of the Mutiny and the imprisonment of many of the Delegates, who are to be tried under a Special Commission. R^d^. Parker, the Chief, was sent to the Gaol at Maidstone. The Ships are separated; some on the Medway, and others came up the River near unto Gravesend. Stocks on the 16th., got up to 55, but suddenly felt a depression of 3%, it is said owing to the last answer from the Directory, who very readily offered passports for a negociator, but express a desire to treat for a separate peace, and Lisle to be the place of Rendezvous.

June 23.

Trial of Richard Parker.

Court consisted of

Vice-Adml. Sir. Thos. Paisley, President, & 9 Captains, and Commodore Sir Erasmus Gower. Adjourned till 4. I did not think the evidence of the day strong enough to affect the Life of the prisoner.

It is more evident than the Sun at noonday that the great object of the French is to extend their Marine, and to clip the wings of Mr. Bull; therefore I am of opinion that peace will not be the (result) of the pending negotiation. Mr. Nutt thinks that it will terminate in a solid, honourable, and lasting peace! Impossible, by the Lord Harry!

By the possession of Venice & Genoa, they possess the Levant and the whole of the Mediterranean Trade. Stocks look brisk, 3 %'s 52½.

Sat: *June* 24:

The 2nd: day's evidence against Parker is certainly conclusive—the charge compleatly brought home by Capt. John Wood of the *Hound* sloop, and James Barry, Seaman of the *Monmouth*. He has asked till Monday for his defence, which is granted. Indeed, nothing can be more lenient than the Court,—notwithstanding the Infamy of his conduct. Yesterday the Trial of Guthrie, Johnson, & Ashley for similar offences terminated on board the *Pompee* (? *Pompey*), at Spithead, which ship, when lately at sea with Lord Bridport, they had formed the plan of carrying

to France. All guilty and sentenced to death, but Guthrie and Galloway are recommended (to mercy?).

This day came on the election of Sheriffs, when Sr. William Sterne, Ald^m: of Castle Baynard, and Rob^t: Williams Esq^r. Ald. of Cornhill Ward, were returned duly elected. Lord Lauderdale and Mr. Waddington were proposed, but their attempt to speak was drowned in the clamour of the Hall. Wilkes was re-chosen Chamberlain.

The Peace prospects are more favourable. I cannot conceive that the Peace Embassy will end in success,—at least, I cannot believe that we shall have peace but upon the restoration of all our Conquests and perhaps more, without getting either Indemnification or Security. Then what have we been fighting for?

My decided opinion is that it will end in fume, and the Stocks at 45 (they were then 55), tho' I would not be a Bear in speculation expecting such an event.

Sund: 25 *June*:

At home writing till 2—when I walked—called on Callander, who was from home, and thence to Billingsgate, where I amused myself an hour in seeing the Gravesend Boats and the Yachts for Margate set sail. I dined in the Boro' with my Friend Parkinson *en famille*, and in the evening walked thro' some Gardens near the Kentish Road at the expence of one halfpenny each. We met and saw a variety of people who had heads on their

shoulders and eyes and Legs and arms like ourselves, but in every other respect, as different from the Race of Mortals we meet at the West End of the Town, and in the more polished Circles of Society, as a native of Bengal from a Laplander.

This observation may be applied with great Truth in a general way to the whole of the Borough, and all that therein is. Their Meat is not so good; their Fish is not so good; their Vegetables are not so good; their persons are not so cleanly; their dress is not equal to what we meet in the City or in Westminster;—indeed, upon the whole, they are one hundred Years behindhand in Civilization. I must not, however, omit their Hospitality and Kindness, which, if measured by Mr. Parkinson's standard, is at least equal to the best in either of the other cities.

I think they are the most profligate, abandoned, and corrupt Cabinet that ever presided in the Country; weak, impolitic, and unconstitutional, having obtained power by the dereliction of every principle of Honour and Justice, and supporting it by means the most flagitious.

Mond: 26 *June*:

Purchased 3 fine Mackerel at Billingsgate for 1/-.

We drank our Wine moderately till 8, when Daniel Hobson called in and beguil'd an Hour. We had our peas at 10, and chatted till 12, having scarcely hinted at anything political the whole day.

For dinner we had Lamb pye, Leg of Mutton, and a Rice pudding.

Nothing new or interesting in the more enlarged Circle of Life, but the Bulls and the Bears had a Bit of a Struggle in which, I suppose, many were wounded. The Stocks vibrated from 54—1/4 to 55—1/2-56, but left off just where they began, which was 55, leaving the nett advantage to the Brokers, who may, in many instances, be compared to the Lawyers, who divide the Oyster, leaving the shells to their too credulous clients.

Tues 27 *June*:

The papers give us today the progress of Parker's trial yesterday, which terminated in his conviction on all the charges, and his sentence to be hanged when and where the Admiralty may appoint, which tho' the best now, is a very poor atonement to the Country for his Crimes.

In the evening I walked sev'ral times round Finsbury Square, a place which now approaches nearly to the elegance of the Squares in the West. I remember it a place for rubbish, and not a House built.

28 *June*:

The King reviewed the City Light Horse on Wimbledon Common, and expressed great satisfaction at their manœuvres. It was supposed 100,000 spectators were on the ground.*

Thurs: 29 *June*:

Trials on board the *Neptune* at Greenhithe continue. Johnson and Ashley, two of the Mutineers

* This Review was regarded at the time as a notable event.

on board the *Pompee*, were yesterday executed at Spithead. Guthrie and Galloway received the King's pardon.

Sunday 2 July:

On Friday, at 1/2 past 9, Richard Parker, the president or Chief of the Ringleaders of the late Mutiny at the Nore, was executed on board the *Sandwich*, where he commanded 3 or 4/wks, a longer period than many Monarchs have reigned. He behaved with manly firmness, and propriety of conduct. It is all the satisfaction that the Country can obtain, but the Lives of the whole of the guilty is a miserable atonement for the Injury, I fear, that has been done the Service, for it will require a Length of Time before this fatal Insurrection will be forgot, and the same confidence restored between Officer and Seaman as was experienced in days of Yore. Trial of others go on, and if all are tried in the same manner who are now in Custody, it will occupy as much time as the Trial of Warren Hastings.

On the same day, Lord Malmesbury, accompanied by Mr. Ellis, the Hon^{ble}: Mr. Wesley, (Lord Mornington's brother) as Secretary, Lord Morpeth, and Lord Granville Leveson Gower, left Town on their way to Dover and Lisle to meet the French Comm^{r}: on the subject of peace. That a fair, honourable, and lasting peace may be the effect of their Mission must be the cordial and zealous wish of ev'ry good Man in the Country, and ev'ry Friend to Humanity,

but, for one, when I know the jarring and discordant interests of the contending parties, and the state of the Army of France in particular, I have very little expectation in the belief that it will so terminate.

Wed 5 *July*:

Sorry am I to record that the Spirit of Mutiny has not subsided in the Fleet of Lord Bridport, as has been so often and so roundly asserted in the Ministerial prints. The *Mars* and the *Saturn* are both returned, guarded by the *Queen Charlotte*, in a state of Insubordination, but to what extent the public are not, at present, acquainted with.

Capt. John Eaton, of the *Marlbro'*, arrived at the Admiralty, and while waiting for an Interview with the First Lord, drew his dirk or dagger, and mortally wounded himself. He died in about 20 minutes, in a faltering accent exclaiming, "Lord Spencer, Justice!" and mentioning at the same time the names of 2 officers. He was only Master and Commander and acting Captain of the *Marlbro'*, *pro* Capt. Nicholls, who was sent ashore by his officers, say, by the revolted Seamen at Spithead. The cause of his committing this rash deed does not appear.

Thur 6 *July*:

The Lottery was agreed on, and purchased yesterday by Ayton & Co., @ £12. 18. 6d, making on the whole a profit to Government of £146,250.

N.B. Tickets are to be extended in number to 55,000. Mr. Pitt has, at length, yielded his in-

tention of giving a bonus to the (what is called Loyalty Loan) subscribers, the discount of which is $11\frac{1}{4}\%$.*

A Coroner's Inquest held on Capt. Eaton. Verdict Lunacy.

The Mutineers on board the *Leopard* are found guilty.

This day commences the New Tax on Newspapers, now advanced from $4\frac{1}{2}$d., to 6d., so that in consequence I have given up the *Morning Chronicle*. It is now per annum £7. 16/. to which add $\frac{1}{2}$d. (per day) for the delivery here, making it £8 9/-. The Government will therefore lose by me £6 17/- instead of getting £1 19/-, and I am persuaded that such will be the operation of this Tax that the Revenue will be lessened, rather than increased by the Impost.

8 *July*:

We subsidized the King of Prussia (who has deserted our Cause), the Emperor of Germany, the King of Sardinia, and all the other Carcass Butchers of the Continent, and now we give £200,000 to Portugal.

Mr. Grattan, in a manly, noble, energetic address to his Fellow-Citizens, resigns his pretensions to a seat in the new Parliament, giving as his Reason that all efforts to save the people are vain while the

* This entry is interesting at the present day, in view of the reluctance of the Government to issue Premium Bonds.

Government of the Country is supported by so base a system of Corruption.

That it is so—both in England and Ireland—nobody can deny who will acknowledge the Truth, but where and when the Evil will cease, or who can and will honestly apply the Remedy, I will not foretell. Mr. Pitt promised it, but his word has long since been forfeited with the people.

July 13:

Charles Macklin, the Veteran Actor, died on Monday, in his 98th. year.*

Sat July 15:

A few days ago died at his Hº: in Beaconsfield the celebrated Edmund Burke. (See *Introduction* for the Alderman's remarks on Burke.)

18th *July*:

Trial of Mutineers on board several ships continues, and most of them found guilty, and executed accordingly, tho' the object now scarcely attracts public attention.

Called at Wills† and home at 12.

* Charles Macklin was celebrated alike as actor and writer. His impersonation of Shylock was a wonderful performance. He was good, also, in comedy and farce. This brilliant Irishman's real name was M'Laughlin.

† Wills was one of the best known of the Coffee-Houses. Situated at the corner of Bow and Russell Streets. A resort of the wits, Dryden being the first to give it a great vogue. But Dean Swift once remarked, rather unkindly, that "the worst conversation I ever heard in my life was at Wills's."

19 *July*:

Messenger arrived from Lisle with the *contre-projet* of the French Directory, containing terms on which they are willing to shake hands with us, vizt:—

"To restore all the conquests we have made from
"the French and their Allies. To restore all the
"ships that we took from them at Toulon, and an
"Indemnification in Money for those we damaged
"and burnt. To acknowledge Belgium as a part
"of the Republic, and to give up any Guarantee
"or Mortgage which we hold for the Repayment
"of the loans advanced to the Emperor."

Infamous as these proposals are, I have no doubt but that Mr. Pitt wou'd very readily accede to them if he thought that the Nation wou'd be satisfied, and he cou'd continue Minister; but tho' he has gull'd Master Bull pretty well, I hardly think that he could persuade him to swallow all this, and even then, after all, any Terms may be better than a continuation of the War, for by that, we can only get a continuation of increased debt and Taxes—and if the Republicans are obstinate, we may possibly be compel'd to submit to them at last. Stocks fell 2%, and people in general not quite so sanguine as they were in expectation of peace.

I was much disappointed in my pursuit of a dinner, and at length, rather than go without, brought to, and had a good Beefstake and a pot of porter and a sallad at Mr. Jay's in the Old Jewry,—the oldest Beefstake House in London.

20 *July*:

The Trial of the *Sandwich* Mutineers ceased on the 23rd. day, and 20 received what they deserved, —the sentence of death.

I dined well at the Banking-Shop of Robarts of Lombard Street,* with Mr. Chas. Hornyhold, Mr. Ellis Wear and Mr. Berwick, with a Mr. Butler, an eminent Counsellor of Lincoln's Inn. We chatted pleasantly till the arrival of the Mail Coaches at 8, which terminated our repast. I think there were 9 of them collected, and very punctually proceeded on their respective Journies, vizt:—Edinbro', Glasgow, Wisbeach, Ipswich, Newmarket, and Dover, &c.

I walked afterwards, and at 9 again called on Mr. Nutt, and gossip'd till 12. My Friend is still sanguine. The negotiations may be protracted, but he says "It must end in a solid, Honourable peace."

21 *July*:

It is extraordinary that nothing has transpired of the negociation going forward between the Emperor and the Republic.

22 *July*:

At the Haymarket, the 4th. Act of the "Heir-at-Law," a new comedy written by Colman was on. It met considerable applause, and I thought deservedly so. "Lock and Key" was the after piece, in itself

* "Robarts of Lombard Street" are now Robarts, Lubbock & Co., the well-known bankers of Lombard Street. The text shows that the coaches with the mails to all parts of the country started from their "Banking Shop."

a compound of nonsense, with 2 or 3 pretty songs, but there is no withstanding the incomparable Talents of Fawcett and Munden.*

July 23:

Capture of several privateers from France and Spain announced.

Trials of the Mutineers on board their respective Ships go on. Almost the whole of them Guilty, and many hang'd, but the subject itself is as little tho't of as if the Revolt had never existed, and even never mentioned in conversation. If it cou'd be rooted from Memory, as well as erased from the Records of the Country, it would be better.

It does not appear that La Fayette† and his Family have been liberated from Olmutz, tho' so often mentioned.

July 24:

On Friday died, aged 62 only, at his seat near Plastow, Peter Thelluson, Esqr., thought to be the most wealthy Commoner in England.‡ He was a

* Munden was a provincial actor who made his first appearance at Drury Lane in 1790. A remarkably effective comedian.

† The Marquis de La Fayette who made history alike in France, and (previously) in America. In the French Revolution, he was Commander-in-Chief of the National Guard; but his views were too moderate for the leaders of the Revolution. He lived long enough to be instrumental in placing Louis Philippe on the throne in 1830.

‡ We have a different standard of wealth now. Evidently Thelluson recognized the debt he owed to his country (see page 187).

Merch^t: of London, and obtained his Money by his own Industry and Good Fortune. Besides spending a great deal, he left behind him upwards of £600,000 stg., not obtained exactly by accumulated profits in Trade, but by Contracts, Loans, Stocks, &c. He is gone, not at an advanced age, and now lies on a Level with Catherine, Empress of all the Russias, who died in her Water-Closet.

Drank my punch at John's.

July 25:

Mr. Thelluson's Will the topic of conversation. Most of his fortune left in trust for the benefit of his first Great-Grandson. In the event of failure, he bequeaths all to the Nation in aid of the National Debt. A more nefarious Will never was made surely. He left a Widow, 3 sons, and 3 daughters.

July 28:

Dined with the Rustic Club.

July 29:

Fears entertained for the safety of the *Phoenix*, Stimpson, from Jamaica, which sailed, a single ship, on the 26 May.

Walked on the New Road towards Islington, and about ½ past 3 was taken up by Mr. Alderman Curtis in his phaeton and carried to Southgate, where we dined well *en famille*, and in the evening rambled thro' the Village.

The cutter *Penelope* made a remarkable fine passage of 35 days from Jamaica. 50 gs. given on her.

I shou'd write freely on her if I were in the Coff. Ho.*

Sund 30 *July*:

His Worship (Curtis) drove me over a beautiful country thro' Edmington to Chinkford, and on the Road to Waltham Abbey. Called on Mr. Richd. Hankey, at High Beach, a beautiful sequestered little spot situate under the Brow of the Hill, having in front a fine prospect of a part of Essex, and Hertfordshire. We here found better Company and entertainment than we expected. No less a man than Monsr. Viotti, leader of the Opera Band; Monsr. Favioli, 2nd: (Violin), Monsr. Pultang, Horn, Mr. Hankey, Hautboy, His Bror. Violincello, &c. In short an admirable concert. They richly gratified. We were sorry to leave them. From thence to Gillwell Hall, the seat of Mr. Chinnery, where we dined exceedingly well indeed with a Company of 14. The House good, the situation charming, and altogether the residence of a gentleman. Mr. Chinnery's Father was writing-master to the children of Mr. Rose, and by him taken a few years since into his office in the Treasury as a clerk, and never in his life, I shou'd think, had a salary of more than £300 per ann. How is it possible with a Man in income so limited, in so short a space of Time to be enabled to purchase an Estate,—build a good House, live well, keep Carriages, Family &c. and support an establishment @ £2000 a year? *Why, by profiting*

* By "the Coffee-House," Lloyd's is meant.

of the Intelligence which his official situation occasionally throws in his way, and gambling in the Funds. It is impossible to be done in any other manner, or by any other means.*

We returned in Time to reach Southgate before the close of the day.

Mond 31 *July*:

I amused myself in my own way, pen, Ink and paper, and Gibbon's Roman History † till dinner.

Aug 1:

Hon. Mr. Westley arrived with dispatches from London, but the usual secrecy is observed. Indeed, it cannot well be otherwise, for I understand all the Treasury Lads, including the two Secretaries, are sworn not to reveal, or traffic in the Funds. Exceedingly proper and very much to the credit of Mr. Chancellor Pitt. The same conduct seems to be observed on the other side, and the negociations are not even mentioned in the French papers.

Sund: *Aug* 6:

The more a man of Reason and unbiased Judgement contemplates the Great Objects which are on the *Tapis* on the other side the water, he will

* Without pluming ourselves on the possession of virtues in which our forefathers were lacking, we may claim for our Government officials of the present day a soul above dabbling in the Funds on the strength of facts officially known to them but not to the public. That the evil existed in Pitt's day is suggested by the Alderman's entry of 1st August.

† The first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* was published in 1776; the three concluding volumes between 1782 and 1787.

believe the more unquiet the state of things in Paris, and the less likely is Lord Malmesbury's mission to be successful. It is the natural consequences of things—for if peace and tranquillity are restored to England, a Civil War will ensue in France. That evil can only be averted by a prolongation of Hostility. That the Directory, by drawing an Army within a small distance of Paris, have acted in direct opposition to the principles of their Constitution is most true, but they justify their conduct, as Mr. Pitt has done often on similar occasions, under the infamous plea of "existing circumstances." Why did Mr. Pitt suspend the Habeas Corpus Act? Why did he bring forward and pass those Bills known by the appellation of "Pitt and Grenville Bills"? He said "existing circumstances required,—strong diseases stand in need of strong applications." And so the Directory; and he is a fool in politics who thinks that the power of the Directory is to be curtailed by the Council of 500 while they have the Army to support them. Even an insurrection in the Capital wou'd scarcely be an effort of 24 hours. But it is the determination of Mr. Bull to listen to nothing but the suggestions of his own Obstinacy and Ignorance, stamping the Times an Age of Credulity rather than the Age of Reason.

Sun 3 Aug:

The papers contain nothing but the speculative opinions of the different Editors for the Amusement of the Town—respecting the negociation at Lisle—who can know nothing about the matter. Delibera-

tions have been suspended, but are now resumed. Cabals in Paris, which will end, I daresay, *in fumo.*

Aug 18:

(Commenting on the Treaty just signed between the Republic & Portugal, the Alderman says:—)

Mortifying enough, I daresay, for Mr. Bull, who now has not a friendly port between Hambro' and Smyrna. Our Cruizers are successful in constantly picking up small privateers, but the more we take, I think, the more remain.

Aug: 19:

Lord Bridport is off Brest; Lord St. Vincent is off Cadiz; and Admiral Duncan off the Texel.

Aug 22—31:

The *Courier* of the 29th: announces Paris papers of the 27th, wherein it was stated that, by means of the Telegraph, they had been informed that the preliminaries of peace had actually been signed between England & France.

Aug: 22, 31:

The papers of the next day prove that the whole was a Forgery, with an Interest, doubtless, to get up the Funds.

The Report, however, gained no Credit, and, of course, no Dupes. 3%s scarcely moved and remained at 52.

Whether any Rascal in our Stock Exchange has been connected with the Rascals on the other side the water does not appear. That many of them are capable of it, if they dare, no Man can doubt who

knows them, for a more infamous herd of Thieves do not exist, I firmly believe, in any Country.*

During the last week the Town was visited by Signor Rosignol, the celebrated Imitator of Birds. He exhibited twice at the Red Lion and was as well rewarded, I believe, as he had reason to expect. His powers are certainly beyond credibility. You must hear him to believe. I thought he most excel'd in the Thrush, the Blackbird, and Nightingale.

Lord Bridport returned to Torbay.

Sun. 3 Sept:

The public news of the day is more unpleasant than we have been accustomed to hear, particularly where British ships and British Tars are concerned. Capt. Walker, of H.M.S. *Emerald*, arrived at the Admiralty with despatches containing a very disastrous account of an unfortunate attack on the Island of Teneriffe, under command of Admiral Nelson, in which our men suffered much, and every soul of them wd. have been cut off had it not been for the gallant conduct of the Spanish Commander.

English-like,—who thinks nothing is necessary to carry a point but courage—the Admiral, it seems,

* Next to Continental sovereigns, the Alderman's pet aversions seem to have been lawyers and stockjobbers. The Stock Exchange manœuvres to which he alludes have been copied on more than one occasion, with varying success, since his day.

News "by means of the telegraph": this may have been the shutter system of optical signalling. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the system was working in England, connecting London and the English Channel by a chain of stations.

attacked the Fort with[o:] knowing what he attacked, or the numbers who defended it, and was unsuccessful.* He then landed 800 men behind, and in the night carried it by a *Coup-de-main.* So far, so good. When the day appeared, he found himself opposed to, and nearly surrounded by, 8,000 of the enemy. The Spaniard stated the peril of his situation, but the Admiral replied that he wou'd cut his way thro' their Troops till his last man fell. The Spaniards, after this, wou'd have been justified to have refused Quarter,—but he made a 2nd: proposition, vizt: that as the English Boats were all stove in landing, if they wou'd retire without shedding more Blood, which cou'd only be the conseq[ce:] of any rash attempt, he wou'd find them Boats to carry them off, which Admiral Nelson thought it prudent to accept. He likewise gave each man a Biscuit and a pint of wine. What Heroism! It is a Trait more glorious to his character than any Honour that he cou'd have obtained by the sacrifice of all those who were in his power. Thus the affair ended, but our Loss was very considerable. No official accounts of it have, as yet, reached Bedford, but the papers say that Admiral Nelson has lost an arm. Capn. Bowen of the *Terpsichore* is killed, six Lieut[s.] of the Navy, and 2

* Our diarist's criticism of Nelson's tactics at Teneriffe are beside the mark. Nelson knew well enough the risks he was running, but he was not one of the "take-no-risk" species. Nor can he be charged with recklessness at Teneriffe, except of his personal safety.

Lieuts. of Marine are also among the slain, and between 2 & 300 men. Capn: Freemantle of the *Seahorse* is wounded, and arrived at Portsmouth with Admiral Nelson &c &c. A sad detail, doubtless, when the whole is made public.

Sep 5:

Today we received the *Gazette* of Saturday, with Adml. Nelson's letter to Lord St. Vincent, and Lord St. V's letter to Mr. Nepean respecting the unfortunate attack on Teneriffe. They give us in detail as few particulars as possible, but it appears evident that the plan was injudicious, and the enterprise altogether rash and impracticable, reflecting neither Honor or Judgement on those who plan'd it. The attack was made on the 25 July. 1000 men were landed and behaved with courage, as Englishmen always do. 28 Seamen and 16 Marines were killed, 90 Seamen and 15 Marines wounded, and upwards of 120 drowned and missing. Besides, the *Fox*, Cutter, commanded by John Gibson, was struck by a shell and went down. Indeed, the whole of them wou'd have been cut off, had it not have been for the generosity of the Spanish Commander, who not only permitted those who survived to retire without molestation, but actually assisted them with Boats for the purpose,—an act of humanity which ought long to be engraved in the hearts of Britons, but for which possibly the Spaniard may lose his head.*

* Certainly the Spanish Commander was a gentleman. His act belonged to the order of chivalry that is so frequently miscalled "Quixotic."

Sun. Sept 10:

The Courier of last night brings accounts from Paris of the 5th: and very important news. No less than the detection of another conspiracy to restore the Monarchy of France, and Louis 18 to the Throne. And what is more extraordinary—General Pichegru, the man who conquered Holland for the Republic, is at the Head of the Conspiracy, arrested for the Crime, and committed to prison. Boissy D'Anglois, Camille Jourdan, Demoulard, and the names of many others are mentioned to have been likewise arrested: in the whole, 64 of the Legislative Body. The Barriers of Paris are shut. A Committee of Five is formed to examine into the state of the nation; the Directors and the other Councils have adjourned to other places for their debates, and their sittings declared *permanent*. What influence this new commotion will have on the negociations at Udina and Lisle is a very natural question, but difficult to decide.

It is a very extraordinary circumstance that such men as Pichegru, and those who are implicated with him, having so gallantly supported the Cause of Freedom and shown such zeal and attachment to Republican principles, receiving the grateful acknowledgements of their Countrymen, shou'd at once debase their Fair Fame, desert ev'ry Tie of Glory, and of Honour, and show themselves to the World as men, Base, Infamous, and degenerate, and for what? Money and a Title! "Is there not some chosen thunder in the stores of Heav'n big with

uncommon wrath, to blast the Man who owes his greatness to His Country's Ruin"? There have been, however, villains in all ages, and whilst man is formed of such materials as compose his Nature, there are such men now, and will be, I daresay, to the end of Time. Why we were not formed of Materials less corruptible it is not for Mortals to divine. I think it wou'd have been attended with as little trouble to have made us better, I must confess, instead of inflating our minds with all the passions of Infernality.

Sept 12.

The papers today give us the names of the Conspirators in favour of Royalty, arrested in Paris, and among them General Miranda, a man whom I know so well, and, I think, am so well acquainted with the leading Features of his Character, as to induce me to believe that tho' arrested and committed to prison, he cannot be guilty of the charges alleged against him. Whether guilty, however, or not, to him individually, 'tis pretty nearly the same thing. Without even the Form of Trial their sentence is—Banishment, but whether to Madagascar or to what other part of the world they are to be sent does not appear. Steps are already taken to carry their sentence into effect, and many of them conveyed from Paris in covered waggons. Carnot, late Chief of the Directory, in some degree, seems to have tacitly acknowledged a degree of guilt, for he is fled. Barthelemi, too, is to suffer exile, Merlin

of Douai, and Francis Neufchateau, are instal'd in their stead. A long confession by a man of Montebello, named Duverne Depresle,—one of the Agents in the Conspiracy—if true—brings a string of charges 'gainst Pichegru, in a very long and altogether improbable story, but as no evidence is admitted on the other side, and none of the implicated are permitted to be heard in their defence, 'tis impossible to give an opinion. Another long recital of circumstances is also published to justify the arbitrary proceedings of the Triumvirate, said to be written by the Count D'Antrougues, 4 Sept' 96, giving the whole History of the mode in which Pichegru was suborned by the means of a Fellow named Fauche, in a letter to Mons^r: the Count de Montgaillard.

The story carries with it an air of great improbability most assuredly, and 'tis possible that the whole may be a Fabrication. But the effect is the same. The Triumph is on the side of the Republicans, and the fate of these 64 distinguished persons seems to make no more impression on the minds of the people than if they were to read of the execution of so many Hogs.

They depart without the smallest emotion, to return no more, and tho' there was apparently an agitation for 24 hours, order is again restored, and Tranquillity reigns in Paris as if nothing had happened. What a very extraordinary Race of Mortals they are!

Sept: 13:

The Papers are filled with the details of the proceedings in Paris. Proclamations, addresses to the people, &c.; but it is all on one side, the Directory having seized *en masse* all the Journalists, the Editors, and Journeymen of the different papers on the other side, destroyed their presses, broken their Types, and, in short, passed a short sentence of Banishment upon the whole of them. Nothing, however, like discord in all these harsh decrees. The Directory are omnipotent. They will, and the people are content. What dost thou think, Mr. Bull?

17*th*: *Sept*:

Stocks fell yesterday 2% without any apparent cause, and may now be stated 49-$\frac{7}{8}$—50, & the Loyalty Loan 13-$\frac{3}{4}$% discount. A variation of $\frac{1}{4}$ or even $\frac{1}{2}$% may be accounted for from the spirit of Buying and Selling, but 2% is too much to be accounted for in that manner. Some Body is in the Secret, I daresay. The *Two Sisters*, under Swedish Colours, is arrived with despatches from Lord M., and if we could examine the contents, the cause (of the fall in Stocks) may possibly be ascertained. Is it not the Fore-Bode of His Lordship's Return?

Sir Ralph Abercrombie is arrived in the *Arethusa* from the W. Inds., where everything is as quiet as if all was peace. Death makes great Havock 'mong the Troops and Multitudes fall Victims to the Fever.

On Sunday last died Mrs. Goodwin, (late Mrs. Wolsingcroft),* celebrated for her "Vindication of the Rights of Women," a "Tour to Norway," and various other publications.

Tu: 19 *Sept*:

Stocks continue 50, and Paris papers of the 12th: (are filled) with more particulars of the pretended Conspiracy. Two letters from Moreau denounce Pichegru, wherein he says expressly that he has betrayed France, but he acknowledges with candour, that tho' there can be no doubt of the Fact, yet the proof is not substantial enough to convict him in a Court of Justice. One of the papers gives an acc^{t}: of Carnot having been basely murdered by his Friend Barras. 'Tis scarcely possible to believe what we read, yet when we know so many acts of atrocity which they have actually committed, there is nothing so horrible that we ought altogether to disbelieve.

Wed: 20 *Sept*:

A 2nd: Edition of the *Courier*, one of which was received by Mr. Vaux, states that the negociation at Lisle is abruptly broken off, that Lord Malmesbury was ordered to quit France in 48 hours, and in con-

* Mary Wollstonecroft, the most prominent advocate of "Women's Rights" in England. Her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, published in 1792, was an able treatise in favour of the equality of the sexes and the better education of women. Her unhappy career, both before and after she met William Godwin (the advanced political thinker and the author of *Caleb Williams*), did not tend to commend her theories to her fellow-women.

sequence was on Monday ev'ning actually at Calais, and his Carriage embarked on board the *Diana* pack$^{t.}$ Cap. Osborn. Many affect to believe that this news is not true, but it appears too correctly stated to be disbelieved by a man of commonsense,—nay, it is to a man whose judgement is not perverted by the Jaundiced Eye of political prejudice the natural effect of a cause—whether true or false—which the Directory of France have endeavoured to impose on the minds of the people, namely, that English Money and English Intrigue has been at the Bottom of the late Conspiracy. Under such suspicions, real or pretended, is it likely that the French Men shou'd believe in the sincerity of the English Government, at the moment it is discovered that we have been endeavouring again to introduce another system of Anarchy and Blood to subvert the existing Government of Republican principles, and restore Louis the 18th. to the Throne of his Ancestors? That that was the disposition, and is the present disposition of this Country, and the absolute Cause of the War, no Man on Earth who hath eyes to see, and ears to hear, can possibly doubt,* and the Idea never will be abandoned but from Necessity, and that it must be abandoned (as far as appearances go), is as clear as the Sun, for the

* The Alderman's Republican leanings have here found expression in an opinion for which, as we can now see, there was little justification. The Diary reveals a state of conflict in the writer's mind between his Republicanism and his patriotism.

destruction of the Republic by Force, even Mr. Bull is not mad enough to dream of now.

Thurs: 21 *Septr*:

The Return of Lord Malmesbury is true. He crossed the water yesterday (say, Tuesday 19th): and yesterday arrived in London. The Fall of the Stocks on Saturday was certainly a prelude as well as a proof that somebody was in the Secret, and profited by what he knew.

3 %'s now 47, and the Loyalty Loan @ 17½ % discount. What was the point which terminated the negociations we know not, at present, but on the arrival of the two new Commissioners, Treilhard and Bonniere, it was very soon brought to issue. It is fair to infer that their demands were too unreasonable for Lord M. to subscribe, without, at least, further Instructions, of which the Frenchmen took the advantage, and seeing that he was not possessed of powers sufficient to conclude a peace, ordered him to quit the Country in 48 Hours.

At the Meeting of Parliament we shall doubtless know more, and perhaps a proclamation or an address to the Nation may previously give us particulars. Suppose the French Men shou'd have demanded a Restitution of all that we have taken during the War, both from them and their or our Allies—for the Dutch Men were our Allies at first. Would it be better to comply or continue the contest? What more have the French to lose, or shall we, after another year's experience, and the

expenditure of 40 or 50 Millions of Money more, be in a position more powerfully to dictate Terms? Our Expences are certain, and the Burthens of the people must be increased. Can they bear more? Will they bear more? to prosecute the Continuation of a War in which it is absolutely and morally certain that at the end of another Year, we cannot be better off than we are now. How we are now to get peace no Mortal can tell, but that a Continuation of the War must be Ruin, ev'ry Man must allow.

22 *Sept*:

At 11 went over to Southill with Henry Thud to see the elegant mansion building by Mr. Whitbread. 262 feet in Front. A more elegant House I have not seen. Dined afterwards with 16 others at a public House near Deadman's Cross, where, in a moderate way, we were very well entertained. Intended to have sup'd with Mr. Costin, *but found it more prudent to go to bed.**

Mon: 25 *Sept*:

It rained incessantly the whole night, and the Waters began to appear in all Quarters. No post. Mr. Hepburn dined with us, and eat partridges after Billiards. Weather very cold, and a dark night. †

Tues: 26 *Sept*:

Dr. Johnson in his *Tour to the Western Islands* says when he was at the seat of Lord Elgin, "God

* This is put very neatly.

† The Alderman was then in Bedford.

"forbid that I shou'd wish a storm for my amuse-
"ment, but as storms will arise, whether Man wills
"or not, I cou'd wish to see a storm from this spot."
And so I say with respect to Floods; as Floods will arise whether Man wills or not, I have often wished to see a Flood at Bedford. I have this day been gratified, and never wish to see another. I was called in the morning about 8 by Master George with the information that water was entering the kitchen. I got up when it was over my Shoes. It increased ev'ry moment, and in half an hour a stream of water came in rapidly, and presently was over my Boots. At the distant end of the garden it poured in like a Cascade, and the pond filled apace. I walked to the Town where the Water was pouring in in ev'ry direction, and in about an hour when I returned, it was with some difficulty, the water being then considerably above my knees. The Lane and the adjoining streets fill'd apace, and very shortly we were compleatly inundated with a depth of 4 feet all around us. We were driven to the next story, 4 feet, 9 Inches Water in the Kitchen, and ev'rything that was moveable, and which we were unable to carry off, was floating. About 11 o'clock Harry came in a Boat, in which I embarked, and landed near the High Street. The River ran with the rapidity of the Rhone, carrying down in its course ev'rything that came within its fury—Grain, Timber, &c., and the roaring of the Water equal'd the Thames at London Bridge. I went on to the Church Top, and lamentable it was to see the fair face of Nature so

cruelly overwhelmed to the great injury of many an Industrious Man, and, in fact, a great loss to the Country, particularly when we consider that the stream must still increase as it gets on, and in many places in the Fens, where the Harvest is yet in the Fields, must be absolute destruction. I returned in the Boat with Major Robinson, Mr. Bowles, Mr. Hepburn, H. Thud, and with ev'ry possible exertion that we cou'd make, cou'd scarcely stem the current. It was an affecting sight to see the poor people in their cottages and small dwellings crowded in groups, Men, Women, and Children upstairs,—and many of them with their little all swimming below,—scantily provided with Bread for the day. We were unable, of course, to cook much at home. I procured a Leg of Lamb from the Major's, Beer, Water &c., from Mr. Lovesey, which was safely delivered at the Chamber window, an aperture which I entered in at myself, and being narrow, I was more puzzled to get out again. I dined with Major Robinson, and in the evening we all waded thro' the garden, the Water, tho' fallen, being then up to the middle, and again returned the same path.

I changed my dress, and about 11 once more came home through the Water, then considerably above the knees, but manifestly decreasing all around. The Water stood at this height, I should imagine, about 3 hours. The Sun shone bright, but when I was on the Church, the Atmosphere had a dark gloomy appearance like thick vapour, arising, I sup-

pose, from the Water. The Wind calm the whole day, and at N.E.

27 Sept:

Very fortunately this day was fine. Ev'ry Body who had sustained damage yesterday was busily employed in airing, drying, &c., and putting things to Rights, and the Sun was favourable.

The Water almost ev'rywhere disappearing.

29 Sept:

Mr. Vick, the messenger, has again been to France with dispatches for the Com^rs: at Lisle, but was not permitted to go beyond Calais, where he waited the reply, and with which he is again returned.

Whatever might have been the object of this mission it is impossible to know—probably another attempt to negociate—it has, however, failed, if any Judgement can be formed from the Stocks. They fell 1½ %, and are now 48. The Terms on which the French say they will make peace are simple enough:

"Restoration of all we have taken from them and their allies since the Commencement of the War,"

and kick as thou wilt, Honest John, these are the Terms by and by thou must subscribe. This is what Mr. Pitt calls Indemnification & Security!

Dined at home and Harry with us. In the evening Mr. Bowles, Major and Mrs. Robinson sup'd with us on an excellent Barrel of Oysters, which I found at the Swan, from Cap^n: Jeffrys to Mr. Miller,

who, being from home, I ventured to seize on them intending to replace them when he returns. I am sorry to observe in the papers the death of the Lady of our friend, Sir Walter Farquhar, Bart.

30 *Sept*:

Paris papers of the 25th. inst. contain nothing but Cabals about their own Interior, and the death of General Hoche, one of the best officers in the services of the Republic, after a few hours illness at Wetzlaer, on the 18th. Inst.

It was at first supposed that he had been poisoned, but a letter from General Debille to the Directory, describes the progress of his Indisposition, and refutes the Idea. Funeral Honours are decreed him, and a procession in the Champs de Mars. He is to be interr'd at Coblentz, near the tomb of General Moreau.

Oct 5:

A Duel has been fought by Col. Fitzgerald and Colonel King. The former, tho' a married Man and a Relation of the latter, had seduced and carried off his sister, a young lady of ab^{t} 16. The conduct of Col. F. . . seems so deservedly reprobated, he cou'd get no second to attend him. With some persuasion, Major Wood, the second of Col. King, was second to both, the Surgeons looking on at some distance. They fired [stood?] at 10 short paces, and fired 6 shots each without injury to either of them, and then parted, because Col. Fitzgerald had no more

ammunition, and Col. King wou'd lend him none. They left the ground (Hyde Park), breathing revenge, and promised to meet again tomorrow at the same hour. They were, however, both arrested, and there the matter rests at present.

Paris papers of the 3rd., reached London, contain the orders of the Directory to the Comm$^{rs:}$ respecting their first Interview with Lord M., in which he was ordered home. Mr. Declue, the French Messenger, is retd: with a reply to the dispatches which he brought the other day, and Mr. Shaw, one of our Messengers, accompanied him.

All Idea of peace seems vanished, and the 3%'s are 48–$\frac{7}{8}$ @ 49.

Oct 9:

French papers of the 4th:

Funeral Honors paid to the memory of General Hoche. Many of the banished deputies arrived at Rochfort, on the 21st. Septr., and embarked and sailed the next day—it is said for Guiana. Others have reached Switzerland, and among them the celebrated Boissy d'Anglois. Barthelemi, who the other day was one of the 5 Kings and whose Talents were much respected, and tho't to be particularly attached to measures of peace, is among those sent to an inhospitable clime in a distant part of the World, taken up, charged with being a Traitor to the Constitution, and sent off even without the Form of Trial, or permission to say anything in his own justification.

Wed. 12 *Oct*:

The Dutch Fleet certainly at Sea, and report states that Adl. Duncan is between them and the Texel.

13 *Oct*:

Papers from Paris of the 9th., but they contain little of import. But from every indication, Hostilities will re-commence soon between the Emperor and the French.

Fri. 14 *Oct. to* 18 *December inclusive*:

This long period we have been staying with Mr. & Mrs. Turnbull in a very friendly and affectionate manner, and tho' without any particular cause, I have been too negligent of my Journal. Yet many events of great importance have taken place.

Oct—Dec:

The signal Victory of Admiral Duncan over the Dutch off the Coast of Holland comes the nearest to our Feelings. It was fought on the 11th: Octr: and the Admiral created a Viscount. The treating of peace between the Emperor and the French, subscribed at Udina, is also to be recorded during this period, as well as the return of Lord Malmesbury from a second unsuccessful endeavour to negociate a peace at Lisle. The same rancorous spirit of Revenge and War between the French and English still subsists, and God only knows how and when the contest is to terminate. Multitudes of their privateers infest the Ocean, and though many of them fall a prey to the Vigilance of our Cruizers, yet they have

done an immense Injury to our Trade. Frederick, the 2nd., King of Prussia, died on the 16th. Novr., and whether we consider his Character as a Man or a Monarch, perhaps he has not left a greater Rascal on Earth. He is succeeded by his eldest Son, now Frederick the 3rd., in his 27th. year, but as yet he has been a King too short a Time to know whether he is born a Blessing or a Curse to his people.

In the more public walk of Life, Mr. Pitt has little or no opposition to his measures within doors, but a marked and more decided opposition to the mode that he has adopted for raising part of the supplies for the next year, without doors.

In Southwark, Westminster, the Court of Common Council and Livery of London, in Common Hall assembled, they have unanimously Resolved that it is partial, unjust, oppressive, and impracticable.

N.B.—The Mode proposed is to raise 7 Millions by trebling and quadruppl'g the present assessed Taxes. Mr. Pitt may, and most likely will, under some modifications, make the Act into a Law, and they may make another Act to transform me into a Woman, but they wou'd be puzzled to alter my Sex notwithstanding. In like manner, he may cram this or any other Bill down the throat of both Houses of Parliament, but he will not produce money where no money is to be had. Mr. Pitt's Friends now publicly condemn his conduct, and many of them will find out to be true, I daresay, what I have in many places predicted—that he has got us into the Scrape, but he has neither the Honor, Honesty, or Ability to get

us out. Mr. Tierney says, and says with Truth, that the War is now carried on to keep nine worthless Ministers in place and power, and that peace is not to be expected while they so remain.

I perfectly think so. At the same time, I have my doubts whether any Man or any set of Men, cou'd make such a peace as may be called Just and Fair, and likely to be long permanent. That we might have made peace, too, when we were in possession of Flanders, is most true, but then nothing wou'd satisfy Mr. Pitt and his Associates but a March to Paris. And it is equally true that we might have made peace during the first negociation of Lord Malmesbury, but then Belgium was the *sine qua non*, and on no consideration to be ceded. And now the Cape of Good Hope and Ceylon are the Bones of Contention, and worth, in the estimation of Ministers, a continuation of this disgraceful contest. Most disgraceful it is, certainly, for tho' we have unquestionably beat the Fleets of France, Spain, & Holland, yet from our Enemies we have got nothing, notwithstanding the high-toned language of Mr. Pitt of his Indemnification and Security.

From our worthy Allies, the Dutch, for whose welfare we first began the War, we have got some valuable possessions, and ought, undoubtedly, to keep what we now claim; but tho' Mr. Bull may bluster and put himself in a passion, yet, Honest Man, his passion will by and by subside, and after spending Ten Times its Value, I daresay he will

tamely surrender the whole at last, according to his accustomed Method.

There never was a Country in the known World so continually humbug'd, and so credulously cajoled as this same Country of Old England. How long its delusion can exist, no Mortal can say, but Mr. Fox, who resumed his seat the other night in the House, gave it as his most decided and unqualified opinion, that nothing cou'd save us but a Total and Substantial Reform in ev'ry Branch of the Legislature and a Restoration of Rights to the people, and that he never wou'd form in any capacity a part in any Administration without it.*

That the Freedom of the Country and the principles of our Constitution have been grossly violated by Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville under various pretences, is most certain, and never will its purity be restored without violence, I am persuaded, while they continue in power. Mr. Pitt has been called the Heaven-born Minister, but if he had died in his mother's womb, it would have been a much better thing.

John Wm. Anderson was on the 9th: of November elected Lord Mayor of London, but I did not dine at the Hall.

Tue: 19 *Decr*:

This day will be recorded in the History of the Country, being the day appointed by the King as a day of Thanksgiving for the important Victories

* Was this declaration fulfilled by Fox?

gained over the French by Lord Howe on the 1st June 1794, over the Spaniards on the 14 Febʸ, and over the Dutch by Lord Duncan on the 11th. Octr., in the present year.

His Majesty, &c., went to St. Paul's in procession. The Spectacle was grand, and the Weather favoured the event more than cou'd well be expected at this Season of the Year. The day, however, went off well, and all was over before dark. I did not go.

Wed. 20 *Decr*:

Dined at home, and afterwards all hands went to the Opera and sat in Mrs. Daly's Box. *Merope* and a new Ballet called *The Triumph of Father Thames over the Genii of Holland, Spain, and France.* The Tragedy was as stupidly dull as Italian Tragedies always are, but the dancing was excellent, and the only part of the entertainment worth seeing.

I wou'd not accept of a Box or a Seat on any condition if I were to attend, so little do I relish such amusement. The House is truly superb, but by no means full, and the whole being in mourning for that scoundrel the King of Prussia, had a very sombre appearance.

It was 20 mins. past 12 when the Curtain dropt, and after 2 before we were in Bed. 2 hours too late for Country Folks!

22 *Decr*:

Paris papers down to 17th: inst: contain account of great Rejoicings on the arrival of the Conqueror

of Italy, Buonaparte, and violent threats are issued 'gainst the Laws, Religion, and Government of Old England. The Assessed Tax Bill the sole object of Parliamentary attention.

23 Decr:

French papers state the unfortunate capture of the *Ariadne* and her safe arrival in Bordeaux. A Terrible capture for the Coff. House,* for many must be deep who can ill afford to pay.

16 days have already been consumed on the Trial of Capt. Williamson, for not doing his utmost on the memorable 11th. day of October.

Xmas Day:

Large party at dinner, including Miss Hood. (Grand-daughter of Lord Hood).

Bedford, Fri. 25 May (1798):

Why I shou'd have discontinued this Journal to this date from the commencement of the Year, I know not, and still more extraordinary that I shou'd have been so negligent when I have had much leisure Time to have recorded the important events which have occurred. And writing I have ever found an amusement rather than a Labour. The continuation of a diary of this sort by many may be thought dull and uninteresting, but as I write for my own pleasure, and not for the satisfaction of

* Lloyd's.

other people, I do not see the reason why I shou'd not ride my Hobby in my own way.

Thus I proceed. We commenced the Year (Mrs. M. & self) with Mr. & Mrs. Turnbull, No. 42 Old Broad Street, and left them on the 10th of January before 3 in the afternoon, after having been kindly and very hospitably entertained from the 11th. of October. At the Bottom of Barnet Hill, nearly opposite the 10th. Mile Stone, we were stop't and rob'd by 3 Footpads crap'd. One held the Horses and one came to the door on each side of the Chaise. Little dreaming of such an attack while it was yet day, after having passed Whetstone Turnpike, I was taken very much unprepared for the visit, and lost a great deal more property than I ought to have had unguarded, and particularly when I cou'd not afford to lose it. They rob'd me of about £46 in Bank (Notes) and money, and took with them Mrs. M.'s dressing Box, which with the Trinkets cou'd not be replaced for less than £50 more. It is a very awkward situation for a man to be in, placed in a confined situation, with pistols at your Breast in the trembling hands of such Rascals.

Mrs. M. was a good deal alarmed when the danger was over, but behaved very well at the moment. We slept at Barnet and reached this place next day, the 11th. to dinner.

The following letters from Alderman Macaulay to Warren Hastings are appended to the Diary :—

Letter dated—

Cecil Square,
No. 11, 18 Octr. 1792.

Mr. Alderman MacAulay, understanding that Mr. Hastings is in want of some good Black Tea, respectfully takes the liberty of sending him a small quantity of "Padre Souchong" which had the reputation of being excellent when it arrived from China, and of which he requests the honor of Mr. Hastings's acceptance.

Mr. MacAulay has some reason to expect in course of the night or tomorrow a few pounds as a present from Dunkirk, which is represented to be such as has seldom been seen in England. Mr. MacAulay will not fail to acquaint Mr. Hastings with its arrival, flattering himself that he may be permitted to send a part to his House.

The Alderman hopes that Mr. Hastings will have the goodness to excuse this Freedom from an Individual so little known to him, but who, even on trifling occasions, is eager to testify his gratitude to the Man whose cause on various public occasions—as a proprietor of East India Stock—he has publickly defended—to whom the whole Country is so indebted, —and whose Statue ought to have (been) erected in Gold in every part of the British dominions in the East, instead of being the subject of a Vile, a Base, an Infamous, and most Vindictive prosecution.

Letter dated—

Dartmouth Row,
Blackheath,
25 April 1795.

Mr. Alderman MacAulay takes the liberty most respectfully to present compliments to Mr. Hastings, and to offer his warmest congratulations, jointly with the public Voice, on his very honorable acquittal.

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